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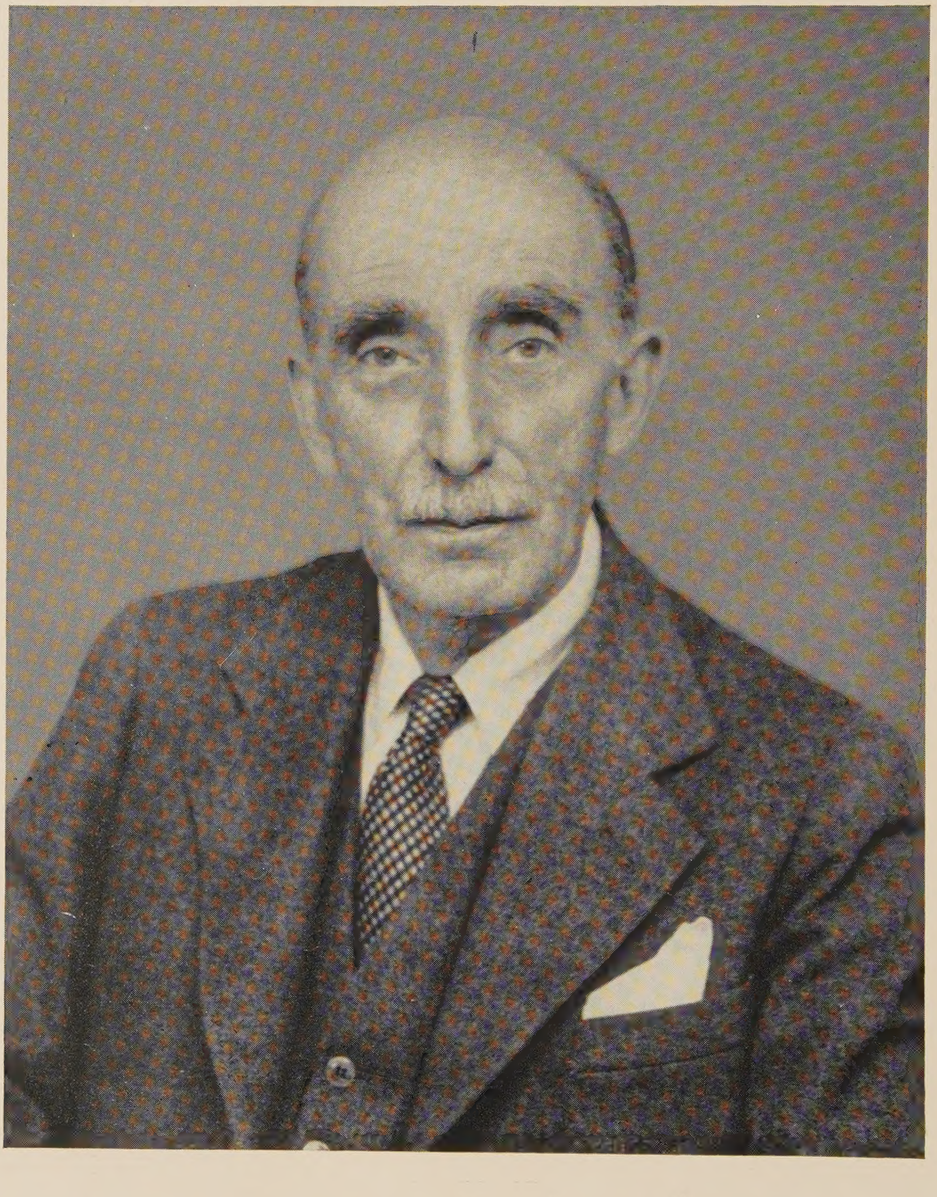

A. J. B. Wace

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ποικίλα σοὶ φέρομεν δωρήματα ταῦτα βαθείης
σῆς θαυμάζοντες ποικιλίην σοφίης·
ὅσσα γὰρ ἐν θνητοῖσιν ὑφάσματα λαμπρὰ πέφηνεν
σοὶ φίλα, καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ λίθου ἔργα νοεῖς·
τίς δέ σοι ἄγνωστος τόπος Ἑλλάδος ; οἶδέ σε Κρήτης
ἄστε᾽ ἐρευνητήν, οἶδέ σε Θεσσαλίης
ἱπποβότου, Σπάρτη τε, πολύχρυσοί τε Μυκῆναι.
πῶς δ᾽ ἀπαριθμῆσαι σὰς ἀρετὰς δυνατόν ;
πάντες σου φίλοι ὄντες ὁμῶς πάντες δὲ μαθηταί
εὖ πράσσειν σε θεούς, ὦ φίλε, λισσόμεθα.

D. S. R.

THE POISE OF THE BLACAS HEAD

(PLATES 1–4)

The colossal marble head from Melos,[1] known as the Blacas head from the collector who later purchased it, was found in a shrine of Asklepios, and is large enough to have belonged to the cult-image (PLATE 1*a*). Its date cannot be before about 330 B.C. and may well be rather later.[2] This paper, however, deals neither with the subject nor with the date, but with certain technical details which explain the way in which the head was made, and establish its poise upon the body.

The head was found in 1828: a few months later it was seen at the house of the French vice-consul in Melos by Charles Lenormant.[3] Lenormant speaks of it as being made of three pieces of marble, held together in antiquity by iron dowels; but he could easily have misread his notes, and I doubt whether he ever saw the third piece which is now missing from the back of the head—though of course it may have been lost since his time; whether he saw it or not, it was certainly not fastened by an iron dowel, for there is no place where a dowel could have entered either of the other two pieces (PLATE 1*b*).

It is natural to speak of the head having consisted of three pieces: but this is not an accurate description. The missing block at the back forming the back of the cranium ('back-piece') (PLATE 1*b*), and the larger block in front comprising the top of the head, the front hair, the face, and the beard ('face-piece') (PLATES 1, 2*a*, 3) are, it is true, parts of the head; but the lower block ('neck-piece') (PLATES 1*b*, 2*b*, *c*, 3*a*, *b*) is broken off below, and belonged as much to the body as to the head.[4] The point is important, for the neck-piece was probably far the largest of the three, and may have originally included at least the upper half of the body.[5] The body, owing to its weight and size, is likely to have been carved with the same poise as it was to have when set up in the shrine,[6] and then to have had the other pieces attached to it. I hope to show that there is only one poise for the neck-piece which would permit their attachment satisfactorily. From the poise of the neck-piece the poise of the head follows automatically, though we cannot ascertain the exact angle from which the spectator saw it, because we do not possess the whole of the body, and do not know how it faced.

---

[1] In the British Museum (Smith, *BMC Sculpt.* no. 550). Parian marble. Head and neck, *total height*, 52·5 cm. Neck-piece, *total height*, 32·5 cm.; *of front surface only* (PLATE 2*c*), 28·5 cm. Later references: *JHS* XLII 31 ff. (Six); *ÖJh* XXIII 1 ff. (Schober).

[2] The arrangement of the hair is obviously related to that of Alexander the Great, which inspired a fashion in sculpture; and this provides a *terminus post quem*.

[3] *AdI* I (1829) 341.

[4] Actually there were four pieces, the fourth being a tiny addition to the hair, perhaps made necessary by an accidental break, over the right ear (PLATE 3*b*). It is not clear how this was fastened; it may have been of stucco. Schober, in *ÖJh* XXIII 12, n. 16, argues for marble.

[5] Newton, in his small *Guide to the Blacas Collection* (1867), says: 'It is said that part of the torso was found with the head, but that, being in a very mutilated condition, it was not thought worth removing from Melos.' I cannot trace the evidence for this statement.

[6] This is my major premise, and if it is unsound the whole argument collapses.

The component parts of the statue were carved to a stage fairly near completion before their final assembly: this is shown by the shape of the picked surfaces, which formed a key for the stucco that cemented the pieces together; in each remaining piece the bounding-line of these surfaces follows the section of the finished shape, but with a margin of some four to six centimetres where the joint was to be contiguous, without stucco (PLATE 2).[7] Now the face-piece (PLATE 2*a*) is in effect a great hook of marble which, once lowered into position, will stay there by its own weight: it does not need, as seems to have been assumed by those who mounted the head after its finding, to lie on a surface inclined backwards, but will hang with its back vertical.[8] Despite this, the sculptor made it more secure by two means, first, the stucco between the picked surfaces already mentioned; second, a dowel (now missing, but originally of iron, as Lenormant tells us) running from a hole in the back of the face-piece to another hole in the front of the neck-piece (PLATE 2*a*, *c*).[9] It was easy for the ancient craftsman to fasten one end of this dowel with lead into the hole in the face-piece, but how fasten the other end into the neck-piece when the face-piece was in position? The answer is given by a groove in the upper surface of the neck-piece, at right angles to its front edge: this groove continues down the front surface of the neck-piece as far as the dowel-hole, and was certainly the channel for molten lead (PLATE 2*b*, *c*). Now the lead would not flow in this channel unless it was level or sloping downwards:[10] therefore the upper surface of the neck-piece was either level from back to front or sloping downwards to the front; but since a downward slope would tilt the front surface of the neck-piece forward out of the vertical and cause the face-piece to swing away from it, we can assume that the front surface of the neck-piece was vertical when the lead was poured. In this way the forward inclination of the head is established.

---

[7] There is a slight step (no more than three millimetres high at its maximum) on the top of the neck-piece, where the projection of the face-piece rests upon it (PLATE 2*b*)—I imagine that this was not part of the original intention, but that when the face-piece was found, at a certain stage, to fit snugly, it was not thought worth while to remove the step.

The pick-marks on this step run obliquely across it and were cut from the front, to avoid flushing the edge: the pour-channel for the lead cuts through them. The pick-marks on the rest of the upper surface of the neck-piece run straight from back to front. This looks as if the pick-marks on the step were made first, then—perhaps when the face-piece was already in position—the pick-marks at the back, but it is not easy to decide whether they were made before or after the pour-channel: on the back of the upper part of the *face-piece* (PLATES 1*b*, 3*a*), the different character of the picking nearer the edge seems to show that the picked surface was enlarged at the last moment in order to provide a larger area for adhesion. See also note 13.

[8] This statement needs some amplification. On the right-angled edge of a *wooden* box, on which I first tested it, the face-piece will hang unsupported with its back face vertical, since the weight of the marble grips the wood; but when set on the marble neck-piece, there is a tendency to slip forward, because the surfaces of the marble are so smooth. The pull is very slight, and the stucco would have been enough to counteract it: there can have been very little tension on the dowel.

[9] The smaller hole below the main hole in the neck-piece (PLATE 2*c*) seems to be modern, for it connects with the large vertical hole in the neck made for the modern mounting. This suggestion is confirmed by Mr. V. A. Fisher, whom I thank for checking, from his long experience, several technical points.

[10] If applied through a funnel the weight of the molten metal above might serve to force the flow up a very slight slope towards the front edge of the top of the neck-piece, until it reached this edge and flowed down the channel in the face towards the dowel-hole: but anything more than a slight slope would stop it. It was not essential, though it may have been convenient, to fasten one end of the dowel first; but when the neck-piece and face-piece were together, lead poured into the channel would have flowed equally well into both dowel-holes.

We now turn to the missing back of the head, or rather to the place where it once lay (PLATE 1*b*). As remarked above, the missing piece was not held by any dowel whatever, but stuccoed on to the neck-piece and the face-piece, the appropriate surfaces of these being pitted as a key, again with a margin worked smooth to provide a close-fitting joint (PLATE 2*a*, *b*): this is a method safe enough when the piece to be fastened lies on a level bed and thus has no tendency to slide one way or another; but, unless the bed was level, it is inconceivable that, on an island subject to earthquakes, the sculptor should have trusted to stucco alone.

Our adjustment of the forward inclination of the head has already given us a bed level from front to back, but in the modern setting (PLATE 1*b*) it is violently tilted down to one side, its right. I suggest that it is necessary to bring this side up, making the bed level every way, and that when this is done we have attained the original setting (PLATE 3*b*). If we now move round to the front of the head, we see a remarkable change. Instead of gazing into the distance, oblivious of mankind,[11] the god bends forward and looks into the eyes of his worshippers: the effect must have been impressive, even startling (PLATE 4*a*, *b*). The photograph PLATE 4*b* gives the view which a spectator five feet six inches tall would have, if the statue with its plinth were twelve feet high, and he were looking at it from twelve feet away.

It is not difficult to guess why the head was made separately from the body: flawless blocks of the finest marble are not commonly of large size, and the risk of a flaw appearing in the head as work progresses is much diminished if this is carved from a smaller block. The normal method is to carve head and neck in one piece and set it into a hollow in the body,[12] and it is natural to wonder why an abnormal method was adopted in the Melian statue. The answer is surely that the exceptionally strong inclination of the head on the body demanded an exceptional method, and one by which there would not be continuous tension on the dowel holding the two together; a subsidiary reason may have been that if, as is almost certain, the upper part of the body was undraped or partly draped, a joint in the surface of the naked flesh was considered undesirable.[13]

---

[11] PLATE 1*a* shows the head in the old poise, the weakness of which is not apparent because the photograph is taken from a high view-point. How meaningless the head when poised thus is apt to look from below—and this was the ancient view-point—is well seen in Rayet (*Monuments* pl. 42).

[12] As in statues from the Mausoleum, e.g. *BMC Sculpt.* 1000, 1052, etc. The colossal torso, perhaps of the second century B.C., from Elaea, the port of Pergamon (*BMC Sculpt.* no. 1522) had the upper three-quarters of the head, with the whole of the beard, made separately, the join being a horizontal one at a level just below the ears. The method of fixing is somewhat different from that in the Blacas head: it consists in essentials of a heavy dowel in the upper surface of the neck, and a smaller dowel in the front surface, which also has a step in it. The purpose must have been the same, namely, to make the join where it would show least.

Since the publication of Wolters' article in 1892 [14] it has generally been agreed that the body of which the Melian head once formed part resembled the five statuettes from Epidaurus cited by him, which are presumably all copied from one great statue. The heads of these—those of them which have survived—are not unlike the Melian, so far as their small scale allows one to judge; but although they are inclined, usually to their left, they are not appreciably bent forward. Now Schober [15] has shown that, of the sculptures grouped by Wolters round the Epidaurian statuettes, not all are of the same type, and has stressed the point that with the rapid spread of the cult of Asklepios and the consequent demand for cult-images, a number of variants, all inspired by a single famous original, are likely to have been produced. Certainly, if the new position of the Melian head be accepted, we must seek a type other than the Epidaurian statuettes for the statue to which it belonged. We do not even know whether the statue—which may well have been one of these variants—was standing or seated, but, if standing, then some such type as British Museum 1694 would be suitable (PLATE 4*c*),[16] and this statuette is in fact a copy (probably of the second century A.D.) of a later development of the Epidaurian type which had more movement and more feeling for the third dimension—modifications which suit a date towards the end of the fourth century.

---

[13] The general procedure may be summarised thus:—

The blocks were carved separately to a fairly advanced stage: the face-piece was set on to the neck-piece with a cement of stucco, and the lead was then poured to fasten the dowel between the two (PLATE 2*a*, *c*): the back-piece was then stuccoed on. Perhaps at this stage the carving was finished off, but it is possible that the pieces were assembled temporarily while the carving was being finished, and not permanently fixed until after its completion: otherwise there would have been a risk of the stucco parting under the blows of the chisel. On the other hand, the section of the back of the face-piece fringed with hair and beard is a little too large at various places to fit the corresponding part of the neck-piece, sometimes by as much as three or four millimetres (PLATE 3*a*, *b*). This may indicate that the blocks were already cemented together and that the sculptor was unwilling to risk cracking the cement by vigorous carving to smooth the transition: or he may have been too negligent. It could anyhow have been finished easily with stucco, which would be completely masked when the head was coloured. We cannot, however, ignore the possibility that the head was carved in some distant studio, and was found not to fit properly when it arrived, but that no one on the spot would take the responsibility of trimming it.

Finally, when the pieces were all assembled and fixed, the holes for the wreath were drilled: this is proved by some of these drill-holes in the face-piece and back-piece having pierced through into the top of the neck-piece (PLATES 1*b*, 2*b*). There were originally about 150, set in three rows quincunx-fashion, of which 108—with some doubtful traces—remain wholly or in part (PLATES 1*b*, *c*, 2*b*, 3); into each of them the bronze stem of a leaf (presumably also of bronze, gilded) was secured by a pouring of lead: some of the stems still project, and the ends of most of them doubtless remain embedded in the lead. This seems a laborious process, but it enabled the artist to set each leaf exactly in the position and at the angle he wished, instead of having to adjust a complete wreath made separately and then placed on the head: the method seems a sculptor's rather than a metal-worker's.

One more word on technique. The design of the hair on the top of the head is indicated sketchily; the whole surface here was first punched out, then claw-chiselled—traces of these processes remain, especially in the centre—and finally the ridges and hollows of the hair radiating from the crown were carved lightly with the bull-nosed chisel (PLATE 1*c*). Possibly this treatment indicates that the head was a replica rather than the prototype, which presumably was finished in greater detail: but there is no reason to doubt its fourth-century date. This lends some support to Wace's argument (*Approach*, 45 ff.) that a single model might serve as a prototype for more than one replica. On this point see also Schober in *ÖJh* XXIII 11 f., who further suggests that the Blacas head may be copied from a bronze.

[14] *AM* XVII (1892) 1 ff.

[15] *ÖJh* XXIII 11 f.

[16] Smith *BMC Sculpt.* III 74: from the Strangford Collection, therefore probably from Greece. Height (*without plinth*) 62 cm.

This is merely a suggestion of what to look for: whatever the type chosen, it should bear a head poised in the way we have now set the Blacas head.

BERNARD ASHMOLE

A HOPLITODROMOS CUP

(PLATES 5–7)

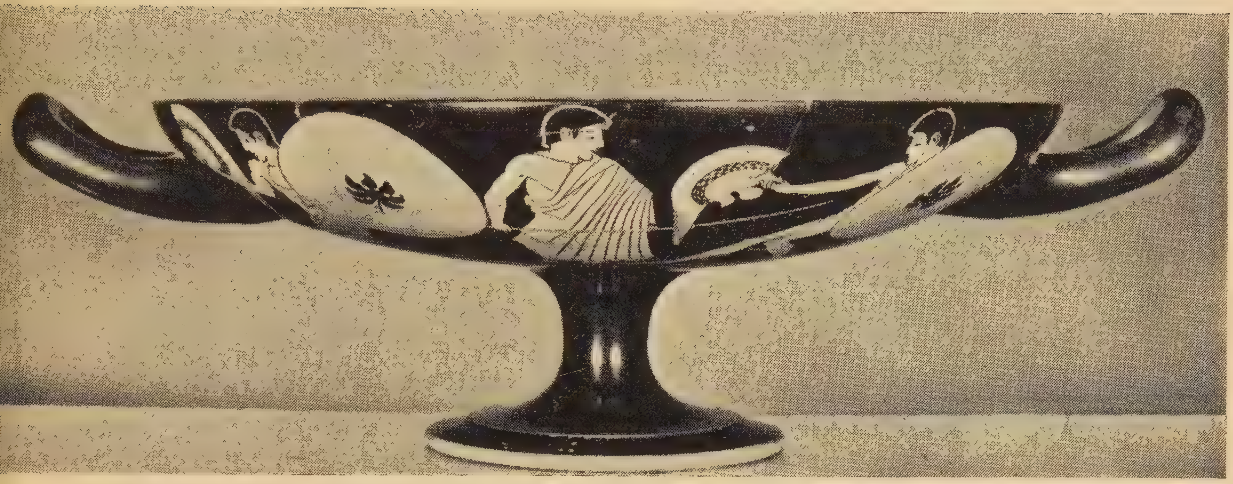

FIG. 1.—CUP IN OXFORD.

The Attic red-figured cup reproduced in PLATES 5, 7*a* and FIG. 1 was formerly in the Wyndham Cook collection at Richmond and was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1947. My thanks are due to the Keeper of the Antiquarium, Mr. D. B. Harden, for permission to publish it. The photographs are by Mr. H. N. Newton. The inside picture has been figured already, in the *Burlington Catalogue* for 1903, pl. 92, G 17, and in the *Ashmolean Report* for 1947, pl. 3, a. The outside is unpublished, but was briefly described by Norman Gardiner in *JHS* XXIII 288–9. The date is about 480 B.C., the artist the Triptolemos Painter (*VA* 99 no. 18; *AttV* 154 no. 19; *ARV* 242 no. 35). Diameter 0·237, height 0·095. Some of the cups decorated by the Triptolemos Painter, as Bloesch has shown, were fashioned by Euphronios (*FAS* 73–8), and the shape of the Oxford cup is at least not far from the work of that potter.

Inside, a bearded trainer stands holding a wand. Part of the left shoulder is missing, and the cup is repainted in that place; the left elbow is sound.

In addition to the usual *BSA* abbreviations the following are used in this article:

Bloesch *FAS* = *Formen attischer Schalen.*
Coll. B et C. = *Collection du Dr. B et de M. C.*
Hartwig = *Die griechischen Meisterschalen.*
Norman Gardiner, *Athl.* = *Athletics of the Ancient World.*
Norman Gardiner, *GAS* = *Greek Athletic Sports.*
RG = Beazley and Magi, *La Raccolta Guglielmi.*

The fluted pillar on the right indicates the palaestra; on the left is a seat, with cover. There are a few letters in the field but they do not make sense. The 'odd man' of the maeander border lies 'south': the painter began the border at that point. Outside, hoplitodromoi: on each half a composition of three figures, a young trainer, wand in hand, between two athletes. On the right of one half there is a pillar like that inside the cup; a small piece of it is restored. On the right of the other half, a pick; part of the upper prong is missing, but the point remains, as well as the lower prong. There are a few letters in the field on both halves of the exterior, but they are not much more than dots and make no sense. Three of the four athletes are in almost the same attitude, moving quickly forward with the upper part of the body leaning back, the shield on the left arm, the helmet in the right hand. This is not, I think, any movement in the race, or even in practice for the race: the youths have stripped, fetched down their gear and hastened to the track. This sort of attitude, with the legs moving quickly forward and the upper part of the body thrown right back, is a favourite in the late archaic period, not only in athletic pictures, but in others as well: it sometimes, though not always,[1] represents arrival—running up, then checking the run. Norman Gardiner, indeed, whose opinion on all such questions deserves deep respect, thought that the youth beside the pillar had probably just finished the actual race, and that the other two were either practising—bare-headed for comfort—or, like the first, finishing, 'the artist having taken a typical position in the race which pleased him and repeated it for the sake of symmetry'. 'Such symmetrical arrangements', he well says, 'are very common in athletic vases, and this vase is essentially symmetrical. We must not forget that the vase-painter's object is not to illustrate a treatise on Greek sports but to produce a pleasing picture, and that considerations of space and composition are more important for him than the literal representation of actual arrangements.' Norman Gardiner compares similar figures of hoplitodromoi on other vases, and supposes that it was customary for the armed runner, as soon as he had finished, to take off his helmet. All these figures, however, can be explained, like ours, as arriving at the track.[2] The alternative explanation of the two figures on the second half of the vase, that they are practising bare-headed for comfort, can hardly be correct: the attitude is not suitable, and while the hoplitodromos might reasonably vary his practising by running without helmet, or without shield, or without both, to practise with the helmet in the hand would not be useful, as the balance—an important matter—would be different from that required in the race itself.

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[1] See for example the komos cup by the Brygos Painter in Würzburg (*FR* pl. 50; *MuZ* figs. 421–3).

[2] The London cup E 818 (*JHS* XXIII, 285 fig. 12 = Norman Gardiner *GAS* 289), by the Dokimasia Painter (*ARV* 271 no. 9), probably represents not the end of a race, in which the runner-up 'has thrown down his shield in disgust' (*JHS* XXIII, 287), but two separate figures of hoplitodromoi, not spatially connected with each other: one arriving at the track, the other practising without his shield, which he has laid down.

The fourth athlete, as Norman Gardiner saw, is practising starts. His shield lies on the ground beside him, with the helmet on top of it; he stands stooping, with the feet not far apart, the right leg bent, the arms extended, sunk somewhat with the hands open, palms downward. Parts of the upper arms and of the right thigh are missing; so are small pieces of the hair, and the nape is restored: but the attitude is clear. There are many figures, on vases and elsewhere, of runners at the start, or practising the start, and the great majority of them are of the same type as in our vase. It is the attitude of the left-hand figure in the athletic scene on the Dog-and-cat base in Athens, and we shall call it Type *a*. The chief variation is that sometimes both knees are bent (not one only, as here), and sometimes one knee is more bent than the other. Here is a list of such figures:

1. Athens, marble base. *JHS* XLII pl. 6; Alexander *Gk. Athl.* 20, below; Norman Gardiner *Athl.* fig. 53.

2. Olympia, bronze statuette. *JdI* LII *Bericht . . . Olympia* I pll. 23–4; *Die Antike* XV, 48; Kunze *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia* figs. 55–7. The date given by Hampe and Jantzen, 480–470 B.C., seems somewhat late; 'first decade of the fifth century' according to Kunze. Or the end of the sixth?

3. Heidelberg 15, fragment of a r.f. cup. *AM* LV pl. 11; Kraiker pl. 2. By Pheidippos (*ARV* 55 no. 9).

4. London E 6, r.f. cup. C. Smith *Cat.* pl. 1, whence *JHS* XXIII, 273, Hoppin ii, 351, and Norman Gardiner *Athl.* 59; *AM* LV pl. 10. By Pheidippos (*ARV* 55 no. 10). Norman Gardiner denies that the youth is starting, and gives another explanation; but the figure cannot be separated from that on the marble base and the others that go with it.

5. Lost, r.f. cup. Hartwig 45, whence Norman Gardiner *GAS* 276. Might be an early work of the Epidromos Painter (*ARV* 922).

6. Würzburg 328, b.f. stamnos. Langlotz pl. 100. Perizoma Group (*RG* 54).

7. Milan, Scala, r.f. hydria. *Coll. B. et C.* pl. 21, 155; *Cat. Jules Sambon* pl. 1, 10. Group of Florence 3984 (*ARV* 174 no. 2).

8. Ferrara, T. 475, r.f. column-krater. Aurigemma ^{1} 59 above = ^{2} 61, above. By the Harrow Painter (*ARV* 179 no. 39).

9. Vienna 2151, r.f. cup. The right-hand figure on B. Manner of the Antiphon Painter (*ARV* 236 no. 51).

10. Leipsic T507, r.f. stemless cup, about 425 B.C. *JdI* X, 188. The

youth is a torch-racer, and the left arm holds out the torch; otherwise the attitude is the same as before.

The youth on a rough red-figured cup in Munich (2623: *JdI* X 186 no. 5), in the manner of the Epeleios Painter (*ARV* 111 no. 37), might also be a runner at the start, but the legs are farther apart, and so are the arms. Hampe and Jantzen think that a fragmentary bronze statuette in Athens, from the Acropolis (6614, de Ridder *Bronzes de l'Acr.* 276 no. 750), is a runner at the start (*AA* 1937 *Bericht . . . Olympia* 79). But this seems unlikely—unless the arm is twisted out of position.

All these were ordinary runners, not runners in the armed race. The same attitude appears in two figures of hoplitodromoi, not starting, but practising the start: they are naked, but shown to be hoplitodromoi by the armour lying on the ground beside them. One of the two is our figure; the other is on a cup of the same period, by Onesimos or very near him, formerly with Joseph Brummer in New York and now in the collection of Prof. F. M. Watkins at Montreal. Here both knees are bent; on the ground, helmet as well as shield. This is inside the cup; outside, hoplitodromoi in other attitudes.

These two figures lead on to representations of armed hoplitodromoi at the start: these extend the right arm only, the left being occupied by the shield:

1. Tübingen, bronze statuette. Best reproduced, for our purpose, in *JdI* I pl. 9; often since, for example in Norman Gardiner *GAS* 94 and *Athl.* fig. 24, and, from a cast, Alexander *Gk. Athl.* 9, below. Shield and crest missing.
2. Electrum stater of Cyzicus. *JdI* II, 101. Late fifth century.
3. Freiburg, fragment of a r.f. cup (eye-cup). *ARV* 93, μμ. The left leg is much bent, and the sole touches the ground with the forepart only.
4. Würzburg 469, r.f. cup. Langlotz pl. 138. By the Bowdoin-Eye Painter (*ARV* 95 no. 6). The figure is very upright, but this is probably the subject.
5. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, 92. By the Bowdoin-Eye Painter (*ARV* 95 no. 3). The figure on B resembles the last.
6. London B 628, b.f. oinochoe with white ground. *AM* V pl. 13, whence *JdI* II 100, below. Statue of a hoplitodromos, and a man standing in front of it. By the Athena Painter (Haspels *ABL* 260 no. 135). Very upright.
7. Cab. Méd. 523, r.f. cup. Hartwig pl. 16, whence (B) *JHS* XXIII, 278 fig. 7; phots. Giraudon. Proto-Panaitian Group (*ARV* 211 no. 4). See below, p. 11.
8. Berlin 2307, r.f. cup. Gerhard *AV* pl. 261, whence *JdI* II, 105,

JHS XXIII, 277, Norman Gardiner *GAS* 288 and *Athl.* fig. 96; Blümel *Sport der Hellenen* fig. 113. By the Antiphon Painter (*ARV* 233 no. 67).

9. Montreal, Prof. F. M. Watkins. The outside of the cup described above (p. 10) has five hoplitodromoi and a trainer; the right-hand hoplitodromos on one half is in the position of the start.

10. Louvre G 214, r.f. Nolan amphora. *Bull. Nap.* n.s. VI pl. 7, whence *JdI* II, 100, above, *JHS* XIII, 270, Norman Gardiner *GAS* 274, and *Athl.* fig. 87; *CVA* pl. 40, 3–4 and 7 and 10. Late work by the Berlin Painter (*ARV* 136 no. 80).

11. Leyden 18a4, r.f. cup. I, *JdI* II, 99, whence Schröder *Sport* 103; I, Weege *Bronzestatuette eines antiken Waffenlaufers* (advertisement of Würtembergische Metallwarenfabrik Geislingen-Steige) fig. 3. Probably by the Alkimachos Painter.

12. Oxford, Mississippi, Prof. D. M. Robinson, r.f. cup. *CVA* II pl. 20. Related to the Pistoxenos Painter.

13. Berlin inv. 3179, Boeotian b.f. skyphos of the Cabirion class, late fifth century. Schröder *Sport* 81; Blümel *Sport der Hellenen* fig. 130; Wolters and Bruns *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* pl. 29, 1–2 and pl. 50, 11.

14. Heidelberg S 157, fragment of another Cabirion skyphos in the same style. Wolters and Bruns pl. 50 fig. 10. The hoplitodromos does not lean over so far.

In two early figures, by one artist, which probably represent hoplitodromoi starting, the legs are wide apart: this had better be counted as a different attitude, which will be called (*b*); although the figure on the Proto-Panaitian cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (above, no. 7) is midway between this and the Tübingen bronze:

1. Leipsic T 501, b.f.-and-r.f. cup. *JdI* X, 192; *AM* LV Beil. 54, 1. By Pheidippos (*ARV* 54 no. 5).

2. New York 41.162.8 (ex Gallatin), b.f.-and-r.f. cup. *AM* LV Beil. 54, 2; *CVA Gallatin* pl. 46. By Pheidippos (*ARV* 54 no. 6).

If these athletes are at the start, then so perhaps is the right-hand hoplitodromos on the outside of a lost cup (*JdI* X, 190, whence *JHS* XXIII, 278, 8 and Norman Gardiner *GAS* 287) by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy (*ARV* 275 no. 29): Norman Gardiner thinks that he has just started (*JHS* XXIII, 280).

A quite different attitude, to be called (*c*), appears on a cup of about 460 B.C., by the Penthesilea Painter, in Boston (28.48: FIG. 2; Norman Gardiner *Athl.* fig. 88; Diepolder *Der Penthesilea-Maler* pl. 28; earlier reproductions are inaccurate in detail). The athlete stoops, his left leg bent more than his right, his left hand resting on his left knee, his right arm extended with the hand open, palm inward. Norman Gardiner describes this as ‘ the best representation we have of a starter.[3] A youthful runner stands ready to start beside a pillar which marks the starting-line, and opposite him stands a young trainer with his forked wand ready to correct him if he starts too soon ’ (*GAS* 275–6). The trainer, however, is not standing but hastening forward, perhaps thought of as at an angle of forty-five degrees to the runner. It is practice, of course, not the race itself.

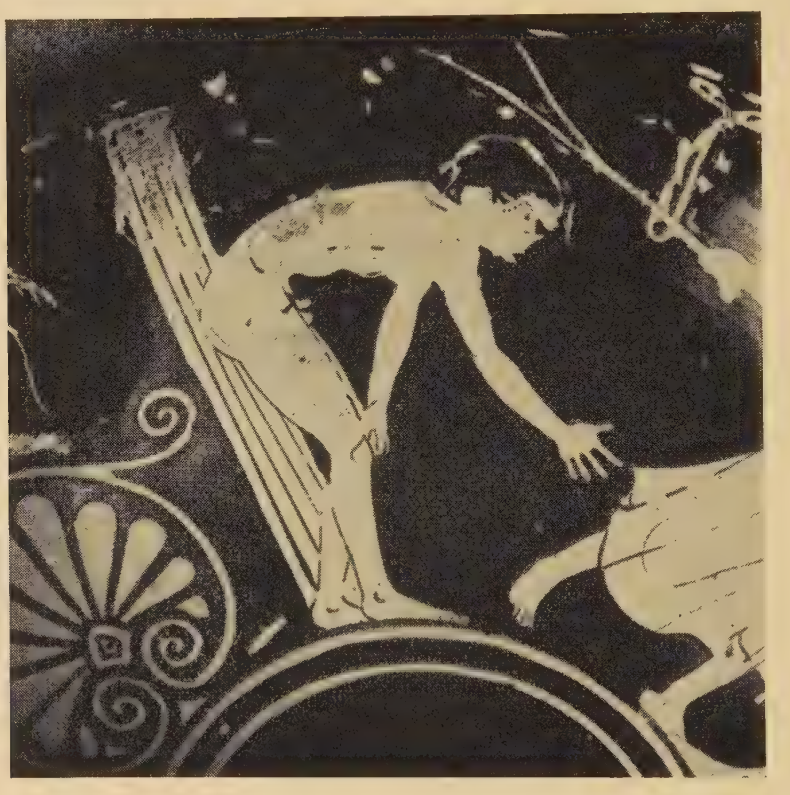

Fig. 2.—From a Cup in Boston.

According to Norman Gardiner ‘ though we have several representations of runners in the attitude of starting, we never see or hear of them starting off their hands ’ (*Athl.* 135, cf. *JHS* XXIII, 283 and *GAS* 274). Here we must consider a red-figured stemless cup of about 425 B.C. in Leyden, xviii.a.11 (A, PLATE 7, *b*), which I publish by kind permission of Dr W. D. van Wijngaarden.[4] Inside, an athlete holding halteres stands at a pillar in the palaestra. One half of the outside shows two athletes, one of whom is using a pick. On the other half, at a pillar, which no doubt marks the start, an athlete bends right forward with the finger-tips of both hands resting on the ground; the left leg is nearly straight, the right bent at the knee, with the heel raised; he looks up at a youth who may be giving instruction.

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[3] He may mean ‘ of a starter in a position approximating to modern custom ’.

[4] The highlight to right of the left-hand figure has unfortunately been painted out in the negative, and nose and mouth touched up.

This brings us back to the controversial figure on a small red-figured skyphos of about 470 B.C., close to the Pan Painter and probably by the artist himself, in the Hearst collection at San Simeon (*JdI* X, 191, whence *JHS* XXIII, 283, Schröder *Sport* 105, Norman Gardiner *Athl.* 142 fig. 97; *AJA* 1945, 475, 2, and our PLATE 6, *a–b*, from photographs which I owe to Prof. H. R. W. Smith). A hoplitodromos, his feet together, leans forward with the finger-tips of the right hand touching the ground. Hauser held that the start was figured; Norman Gardiner thought that although it was ‘ impossible to regard this as a recognised attitude at the start in serious athletics, such a fanciful position may well have occurred in a race of less serious type at less important meetings, or in the matches that must constantly have been arranged among the youths in the various palaestrae. For example in the present day the runners in an obstacle race are sometimes made to lie down at the start’ (*JHS* XXIII, 283). Later (*GAS* 274) he was inclined to think that the runner in practising a start had overbalanced, and that the official on the other side of the skyphos was telling him to go back to his mark. The figure on the Leyden vase may perhaps help to support Gardiner’s earlier explanation rather than his later; but even that I feel to be rather forced. Is it not more likely that in both pictures, San Simeon as well as Leyden, the youths have simply taken up a more comfortable attitude while listening to the remarks of the trainer, and will resume the proper position for the start when he has had his say? I seem to have seen this often in life, although I cannot remember precisely when and where.

To return to the cup in Oxford. The brown inner markings of the bodies do not all come out in the photographs. The trainers wear head-fillets, done in red; the athletes have none. Two of the four helmets are of one shape, the other two are somewhat different. The device on the ‘ starter’s ’ shield is a number of rings—three are shown—with a dot in the middle. The other three shields have a single device, a leaf with seven lobes setting out from a central round. One of the shields on the Watkins cup (above, p. 11) has the same leaf for a charge; the same again, but with only five lobes, appears on the cup London E 818 (above, p. 8, note 2), on the hoplitodromos cup in the Robinson collection (above, p. 11) and elsewhere. Leaves, usually lobate, are a common charge on shields (Chase in *Harvard Studies* XIII, 111–2); and one of the actual shield-devices, of silvered bronze, recently found at Olympia, is in the form of a leaf (*JdI* LVI, *Olympiabericht* iii, 87).

Chase is inclined to think that leaves like ours on shields were meant for fig-leaves. The resemblance is not very close, but it is hard to find a better candidate among plants common in Greece. Mr. G. F. Robinson, who kindly allowed me to consult him, showed me trevesias, fatsias, panaxes, which have leaves much like those on the shields, but these are not Mediterranean plants.

The hoplitodromoi on the Oxford cup are all young, but the race in armour required strength as well as dash, and the older man stood a good chance. This fact may be at the root of the curious episode at the funeral games of King Thoas which constitutes our earliest reference in literature to the hoplitodromy. It forms the conclusion of Pindar's fourth Olympian ode, but the poet is doubtless drawing from an earlier, epic source:

. . . διάπειρά τοι
βροτῶν ἔλεγχος·
ἅπερ Κλυμένοιο παῖδα
ἔλυσεν ἐξ ἀτιμίας·
χαλκέοισι δ' ἐν ἔντεσι νικῶν δρόμον
ἔειπεν Ὑψιπυλείᾳ μετὰ στέφανον ἰών·
" οὗτος ἐγὼ ταχυτᾶτι·
χεῖρες δὲ καὶ ἦτορ ἴσον.
φύονται δὲ καὶ νέοις
ἐν ἀνδράσιν πολιαί
θαμάκι παρὰ τὸν ἁλικίας
ἐοικότα χρόνον."

> ' Trial is the proof of men; trial, which freed the son of Klymenos from the scorn of the Lemnian women. When he won the race in bronze armour, he said to Hypsipyle as he went to receive the crown: " Such am I in speed, with hands and heart to match. Gray hairs often grow even on young men before the proper time of life." '

According to the scholia on the passage Erginos defeated the winged sons of Boreas, Zetes and Kalais, who were great runners. Erginos, of course, according to Pindar and no doubt the epic poet, was young—prematurely gray: but the fact in ordinary life, it is fair to conjecture, which suggested the episode described by Pindar was that this event, the race in armour, was not infrequently won by a middle-aged man.

The Oxford cup is among the slighter works of the Triptolemos Painter, who is an excellent artist with a firm, strong line. A few additions may be made to the list in *ARV* 239–43 and 956. A fragment of a cup in Bryn Mawr:

inside, on the left, a youth seated to right; there must have been another figure on the right of the picture; outside, a seat-leg, it seems, then the feet of a male moving to right, and on this side of them the feet of another male moving to left: it occurred to me that the Freiburg fragments, no. 45 in the list, might be from the same cup. A fragment of a cup in the Louvre: inside, a piece of drapery?; outside, the lower parts of two male figures in himatia; one stands to right, with a stick; the other has the right leg frontal. Fragments of another cup in the Louvre: the outside is plain, the left half of the inside remains: on the right, an athlete with one knee on the ground, perhaps holding an akontion; on the left, a youth in a himation to right, with a stick. A fragment of a cup in Athens, Agora Museum, P 19574: outside, head and breast of a youth are preserved. The painter's worst work is the pelike Villa Giulia 48339, from Cervetri: on one side, a man leaning on his stick to right, on the other a youth standing to left, both wearing himatia. Lastly, a small skyphos, of glaux type, which judging from the reproductions I said ought to be by the Triptolemos Painter (*ARV* 956, near the top), is certainly his, as I perceive now that I have seen the original. Found in Etruria, at Vulci, it was at one time in the Hertz collection (Sale Cat. no. 70), then in the Forman collection (Sale Cat. no. 358), then in that of Alfred Higgins, from which it passed, not to Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord Melchett) as I had thought, but to Sir Robert Mond. It is now at Churt House by Rotherfield near Tunbridge Wells, in the collection of Lord Nathan of Churt, who has kindly permitted me to publish it here (PLATE 6, *c–d*). I am indebted to Mr. Bernard Ashmole for the photographs, which supersede, in most points, the drawings published by Cecil Smith in the *Forman Catalogue* (pl. 11, below), and in all points the tiny photograph reproduced in the *Burlington Catalogue* for 1903 (pl. 96, I 80). Height 7·8 centimetres, width 10·5, with the handles 16·8. On each half of the vase, a young athlete: on one side, loosening the soil of the palaestra with a pick; on the other, resting, seated on the ground, clasping his knee, and looking at his companion. A boxer's thong, folded up, hangs on the wall behind him, and in front of him strigil and aryballos. Aryballos and strigil are also seen to the left of the other youth, and behind him a pillar. Relief-lines for the contours, brown lines for the minor markings of the bodies. The lower lip of the active athlete is damaged, and so is the hair on his forehead. The peg over which the carrying-thong of the aryballos is passed shows in both pictures, not only in one as would appear from the drawing. The head of the pickaxe shaft, where it projects from the bar in the middle, is also omitted in the drawing, and the little upright handles or ears of the aryballoi.

J. D. BEAZLEY

PRECLASSICAL GREECE—A SURVEY

Four score years have passed since archaeological research began to occupy itself with the preclassical age of Greek lands; and this is perhaps an appropriate moment to cast a brief appraising glance at what has been accomplished and what remains still to be done. It is an especially fitting subject in this volume of studies issued in honour of Professor Alan J. B. Wace, who has himself played so large a part in the task of uncovering and interpreting the early remains on the mainland of Greece. This long span of eight decades might be divided into two almost equal stages, that of pioneering exploration and discovery, and that of re-examination, more detailed research and synthesis.

The first generation of preclassicists, dominated to a great extent by the colourful figure of Heinrich Schliemann, gave its attention to many of the large sites, well known from their role in Greek tradition. After his early successes at Troy Schliemann thus turned in 1876 to Mycenae, where he exposed the entrance through the Lion Gate, discovered the Grave Circle, and the Royal Shaft Graves with their rich treasure, and cleared in part the *tholos* tomb christened the Tomb of Clytemnestra. In 1880–81 he excavated what was left of the comparable *tholos* at Orchomenos, and in 1884, with the collaboration of Dörpfeld, laid bare the palace at Tiryns.

Chrestos Tsountas, who in 1886 followed in the footsteps of Schliemann at Mycenae, spent more than a decade in fruitful investigation: he uncovered the palace and many houses on the Mycenaean citadel, and excavated wholly or in part seven further *tholoi* as well as some two hundred chamber tombs. In 1889–90 he extended his researches farther afield and cleared *tholos* tombs at Vaphio in Laconia and at Kampos on the western side of Taygetos. Meanwhile other *tholos* tombs had been found at Menidi (1879) and at Thorikos (1888) in Attica, and at Dimini (1886) in Thessaly; and chamber tombs in increasing numbers came to light at Spata (1877) and many other places in Attica, at Nauplia (1879), and elsewhere. Mycenaean remains were also recovered in the great excavation of the Acropolis at Athens, and at Eleusis. In 1878 and 1886 Furtwängler and Loeschcke published *Mykenische Thongefässe* and *Mykenische Vasen*, the first ambitious books on Mycenaean pottery; and by the end of the nineteenth century Mycenaean civilisation had come into our ken.

Another culture, quite different and obviously more primitive, had also been revealed in the Cyclades, where many hundreds of cist graves were discovered and excavated by Tsountas; his publications in *AE* 1898 and 1899 are still excellent models of reporting and analysis. The progress and development of Cycladic civilisation was further clarified in the admirable excavations of the British School at Phylakopi in Melos.

With the opening of the twentieth century active interest turned to the north and south. In Thessaly excavations at Dimini, begun by others and completed by Tsountas, and the latter's own work at Sesklo disclosed a culture which flourished before the use of metal was introduced and which could therefore be attributed to a neolithic stage. Comparable pottery was also discovered by a Bavarian expedition at Orchomenos, where remains of pre-Mycenaean strata of the Bronze Age were likewise found. Other sites in Boeotia and Phocis soon yielded similar material. By 1910 all the major preclassical layers had been seen in one place or another, but their exact sequence and relation had not yet been determined.

Meanwhile in Crete the great excavations of Sir Arthur Evans which began at Knossos in 1900 had brought to light a huge Minoan palace and deep accumulations of debris that presented an uninterrupted succession of strata. Observation of the stratigraphy enabled Evans in 1906 to divide the Bronze Age into three main periods, which he called Early, Middle, and Late Minoan, and to recognise three definite subdivisions of each. This was an epoch-making achievement that established the framework of history in the Aegean Bronze Age. The system, which fitted well the other sites excavated in Crete, was quickly found to have a general application to the stratigraphy that had been recognised at Phylakopi, and was thus adopted also for the Cycladic area.

To the second stage of preclassical research, which was interrupted by two local and two world wars, belongs the resumption of excavations by the German Archaeological Institute at Tiryns, which especially under the direction of G. Karo and K. Müller yielded abundant new information about the architectural and ceramic history of the site. Eminent place must also be given to the work of the British School, conducted by A. J. B. Wace, which vastly enlarged our knowledge of the great monuments at Mycenae and their chronology, the Palace, the Grave Circle, the Lion Gate, the fortification walls, the *tholos* tombs, and also provided a detailed account of twenty-four further chamber tombs. A notable contribution was likewise made by G. Karo's detailed and scholarly publication (1930–33) of all the objects that Schliemann and Stamatakis had found in the Shaft Graves.

The excavations of Wace and Thompson at several sites in Thessaly added much new material and brought clarification to many problems of the Neolithic Age, which was now seen to have had a long duration. Remains of a closely related, if not identical Neolithic culture, were gradually uncovered through the efforts of other archaeologists in Phocis, Boeotia, Attica, and the Peloponnesos, and it became clear that the whole of continental Greece had been intensively occupied in that era.

The discovery and excavation of several small, modest settlements, where no monumental construction had seriously disturbed the underlying accumulation, led to a considerable advance in our understanding of Greek prehistory; for here the stratification proved often to be relatively well preserved, and it demonstrated that the deposits of the Bronze Age consisted normally of three successive layers, each marked by distinctive architecture, tombs, and pottery. It thus became apparent that the Bronze Age on the mainland, like that in Crete, had its early, middle, and late periods.

In obtaining this evidence many archaeologists participated. The American School played a role through its excavations in the Corinthian region at Korakou, Gonia, and Zygouries (in the exploration of which A. J. B. Wace was an invaluable collaborator), and through its joint sponsorship with the Fogg Museum of the excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia directed by Hetty Goldman. Swedish expeditions likewise contributed substantially through their work in Argolis, chiefly under the direction of A. W. Persson, at Asine, Dendra, and Berbati, in Arcadia at Asea, and in northern Messenia. Further *tholos* tombs at Dendra and Berbati and at Messenian Pylos were discovered, and numerous chamber tombs were found, especially at Asine, Dendra, and the Argive Heraeum. Much additional material of the Bronze Age was recovered at Eleusis by Kourouniotis and Mylonas, and the latter brought to light a cemetery of the Early Bronze Age at Hagios Kosmas in Attica. Fruitful results were obtained by the American School in the explorations of O. Broneer on the north slope of the Acropolis and in the great excavations of the Athenian Agora. At Thebes Keramopoullos exposed the surviving remains of a Mycenaean palace, containing a series of inscribed storage jars, and also investigated several cemeteries of contemporary chamber tombs.

Remains of an important settlement that maintained its existence from neolithic times to the end of the Bronze Age were discovered beneath the temple of Aphrodite at Aegina. Supplementary explorations in Euboea and the Cyclades also yielded their quota of new evidence.

Intensive excavations in eastern and central Crete shed much new light on early Cretan civilisation; and in Sir Arthur Evans' great work *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, the Italian publications on Phaistos, and the French on Mallia, a well-rounded picture of the Minoan Age emerged.

Work of exploration was extended widely into Macedonia, where many sites of the Late Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age were discovered and excavated, especially by W. A. Heurtley. An Italian expedition uncovered a settlement of importance on the island of Lemnos, and an Early Bronze Age establishment that passed through five phases was excavated by Winifred Lamb at Thermi in Lesbos. An expedition sponsored by the University of Cincinnati undertook a fresh study at Troy (Hisarlik), where it conducted seven campaigns of excavation from 1932 to 1938.

The eighty years of exploration, excavation, and study, which have been briefly summarised, and to which not only those mentioned but a great many other archaeologists contributed in devoted measure, have built up a considerable knowledge of preclassical Greece. It is clear that two main eras of culture are represented, one falling in the Neolithic, the other in the Bronze Age.

The deposits of the Neolithic Period are very deep at some sites, especially in Thessaly, where many strata give evidence that the culture lasted long and passed through many phases. Throughout its existence men lived in settled communities. Their houses were built usually with foundations of stone and a superstructure of crude brick, but we know relatively little of their ground plans. In some instances the settlement was surrounded by a fortification wall. Life was based on an agricultural economy: fields were cultivated and domesticated animals were kept. Almost no human burials have yet been found. Weapons, tools, and implements were made of stone, bone, and no doubt wood. Idols of stone and terracotta make their appearance in a characteristic steatopygous form. Simple ornaments of stone, bone, and terracotta are of fairly common occurrence. Hand-made pottery was produced in great abundance and in a broad variety of shapes and styles, plain and with incised or painted decoration. Some of the finest ware in a thin, delicate, red monochrome fabric is distinctive of the early phases, and there appears to be a progressive deterioration in the quality of the pottery towards the end of the period.

In central and southern Greece, where few good sites have been thoroughly excavated, this culture manifests in its artefacts and pottery what seem to be local variations; one of the most striking features is the use of a glaze in the decoration of pottery, the so-called neolithic *urfirnis*.

There are many unsolved problems, many questions that cannot be answered. The various phases have not yet been adequately differentiated, although since Tsountas' time it has been safe to speak in broad terms of a First and Second Period; nor have their relations, one to another, been fully clarified. In Thessaly itself the relationship between the Sesklo culture, First Period, and the Dimini culture, Second Period, has not been satisfactorily ascertained; and the theory of an invasion from the Black Earth Region has not been established beyond doubt. No one has yet been able to explain clearly the connections between Thessaly on the one hand and central Greece and Peloponnesos on the other. The relation, if any, between the neolithic culture of the mainland and that of Crete is likewise still undetermined. It has not yet been possible to discover just how the neolithic civilisation came to its end and fell before its successor of the Early Bronze Age.

No fresh excavations have been made in Thessaly since the work of Wace and Thompson nearly forty years ago; and all recent interpretations and theories are based on their and Tsountas' admirable observations. But much has been learned in the intervening years from other parts of the Aegean area that should be brought into comparison with the material from Thessaly and tested by fresh stratigraphic study. What is clearly needed now is a new excavation of some good site, an excavation on a relatively large scale, employing the latest methods of research and recording. In that way some of the many specific unsolved problems that can be answered today only by theory and deduction, founded on inadequate comparisons and supposed similarities, might well find their solution. It might be mentioned in passing that comparisons of pottery shapes and decorative motives based on photographs alone are far less reliable as evidence than a study of the objects themselves side by side. In dealing with pottery the character of the fabric, which often cannot be seen in a photograph, may be of the greatest importance.

When we turn to the Bronze Age we find ourselves on firmer ground, though here too there are numerous perplexing unsettled questions. The triple division is, however, solidly established by stratigraphic evidence, and we can speak with confidence of the Early, Middle, and Late Periods. The nomenclature too has now been pretty generally accepted on a geographical basis: the term Minoan, first suggested by Evans, is universally established for the remains and periods in Crete; the culture of the central Aegean islands is called Cycladic; and the name Helladic has in most quarters been adopted to designate the roughly corresponding periods and remains found on the Greek mainland.

The problems in the Minoan area need not detain us, since they have been fully set forth by Pendlebury, and there is little to add to the survey given in his book *The Archaeology of Crete*. Passing over the Cyclades also we shall limit ourselves to a review of the state of affairs on the mainland.

Though much supplementary information has come from many other sites, the Early Helladic Period is best known from the excavations in Argolis, Boeotia, and Corinthia that have been mentioned. The depth of the deposit at Eutresis exceeded four metres; at the Corinthian and Argolid sites it was more than two metres; and everywhere it showed numerous habitation levels, implying that the period was a long one. Throughout it the inhabitants, like their predecessors, lived in communities or villages, engaged in agriculture, and raised cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs. Carbonised wheat has been recognised in a stratum of Early Helladic II at Eutresis. Houses were built with walls of crude brick supported on broad stone socles. Except for a large circular building at Tiryns, they exhibit fairly consistent rectangular plans, and some were of large size. No certain remains of fortification walls have been recognised. Burials of several types have been found: ossuaries, stone-lined cists like those of the Cyclades, and small chambers opening from the bottom of a vertical shaft. Alongside stone and bone implements, which continued to be used, tools and weapons of copper make their appearance. Gold and silver were worked into jewellery and ornaments, and three gold sauce-boats are known. Figurines of terracotta occur, anthropomorphic as well as zoomorphic, of types quite different from those that prevailed in the Neolithic Period. The pottery, too, of excellent fabric and in a wide repertory of distinctive shapes, has a character of its own. A close kinship with Early Cycladic and Early Minoan is unmistakable; and the geographical distribution of Early Helladic sites suggests that the bearers of this culture entered southern Greece and gradually extended their dominion northward.

The Early Helladic Period still offers many unsolved problems. At some sites the excavators, on the analogy of Evans' Minoan system, have ventured to distinguish three major subperiods which they call Early Helladic I, II, and III. These divisions are founded on a study of the stratification, and their local applicability at each site is unquestionable; but they have not yet been adequately correlated to permit a general application with any clarity of definition to the entire area. Writers who refer easily to Early Helladic I, II, and III are thus dealing with concepts that are still somewhat nebulous and ill-defined, and such generalisations must be regarded with caution.

The difficulty is that Early Helladic deposits have not yet been sufficiently explored. The earliest strata have for the most part barely been touched, usually at the bottom of small deep pits that yielded relatively little material; and there has nowhere been an excavation of a large area on an adequate scale to allow the stratification to be studied with the thoroughness required. Such an excavation is an indispensable need for further progress in coordinating and correlating the phases of Early Helladic from site to site and in their broader relationship to the Aegean world. It might also yield much information, now lacking, to shed light on the manner in which Early Helladic civilisation displaced its neolithic predecessor, concerning which virtually nothing is yet known. How the Early Helladic Period came to its end is likewise a subject that demands further investigation. At some sites a burnt stratum seems to indicate a thoroughgoing destruction; elsewhere a less violent transition has been postulated, with many survivals. One consideration of significance is the fact that a great many Early Helladic settlements were abandoned at the close of the period and never reoccupied.

Remains of Middle Helladic culture are fairly abundant. In the settlements that have been excavated many houses have been uncovered and a distinctive style of architecture, marked by neat, narrow walls, is found. Rectangular and apsidal ground plans occur apparently side by side. No fortifications have yet been identified. Life continued as before, based primarily on agriculture and stock raising. Burials almost always are single interments in small, plain or stone-lined cists or shafts, sometimes in *pithoi*. Bronze has replaced copper for weapons and implements, though stone, bone, and terracotta were still used for various purposes. A new type of pottery, Grey Minyan Ware, is characteristic; and to it is soon added another, perhaps of Cycladic derivation, bearing decoration in matt paint. The introduction of the potter's wheel also falls in this period. The geographical distribution of the principal settlements supports the view that Middle Helladic culture was brought by invaders from the north, or more probably the north-east, perhaps coming by sea. In the course of the period, which must have lasted a considerable time, change and development can be traced, especially in the pottery. Contact was made with the islands and eventually with Crete; it was speedily followed by an intensification of relations which, towards the end of the period and in the next, led to a deep penetration of the mainland by Minoan culture. Whether this was brought about by a Cretan conquest or by the receptive borrowing attitude of the mainland population is still a disputed question.

The Middle Helladic Period, so far as its internal division is concerned, is even less well known than the Early Helladic. Excavators have observed successive habitation levels; at some sites three main subperiods have been postulated, at others only two, but there is no convincing correlation from site to site over the Helladic area. It is thus premature and going beyond the evidence yet available to use the terms Middle Helladic I, II, and III as if they were established general concepts with validity for the whole Greek mainland.

Apart from its origin, internal division, and the nature of its intercourse with Crete, Middle Helladic culture sets us many other problems. What is the meaning of the homogeneous culture in Troy VI? How and when did it establish its supremacy over the mainland and some islands of the Cyclades? How did it dispose of its predecessors? Was it brought by a people of Indo-European—possibly early Greek—stock? Did they bring with them the horse? What does the appearance of Mattpainted Ware mean? How did the Middle Helladic evolve into Late Helladic civilisation? Many of these questions may long remain in the field of surmise and speculation, but some of them could no doubt be answered by the thorough stratigraphic excavation of a good Middle Helladic site, large enough and with a sufficient depth of deposit to provide abundant architectural and other material in undisturbed sequence.

The Late Helladic or Mycenaean Period has yielded far more archaeological remains than any of its predecessors: great palaces set within fortified citadels, numerous houses, large and small, frescoes, the Royal Shaft Graves, some forty *tholos* tombs, and many hundreds of chamber tombs, abundant works of art and jewellery in gold, silver, stone, ivory, faience, glass, etc., weapons of bronze, terracottas, vast quantities of pottery, and not of least importance considerable remnants of writing and of written records. Three general stages in the development of this culture, Late Helladic I, II, and III, have long been accepted as safely established, and their essential correctness can hardly be doubted. But, as has sometimes been remarked, almost no site has yet been found with a deposit that preserved clearly marked strata in a complete, undisturbed sequence convincingly representing these major stages.

If stratigraphic evidence for the main divisions is thus awkwardly scanty, it is even more disconcertingly lacking for the many minor subdivisions that Furumark has recently set up for what he calls Mycenaean II and especially Mycenaean III. The latter period he separates into no fewer than seven phases: Mycenaean III A1, III A2 early, III A2 late, III B, III C1 early, III C1 late, III C2. Observation of the stratification at Zygouries, Mycenae (Lion Gate area), Asine, and elsewhere had provided the basis for a triple division of the long period of Late Helladic III, and one may therefore refer with some confidence to Late Helladic III A, Late Helladic III B, and Late Helladic III C; but the more minute distinctions made by Furumark depend almost wholly on his reconstruction of a typological series of shapes and decorative styles and motives that he takes to illustrate the development of Late Mycenaean pottery. In its details the structure thus rests on subjective theory: it is a logical structure that has much to commend it, but it cannot yet be regarded as founded on ascertained fact, and stratigraphic evidence when discovered may still impose some modifications. There is for example an apparent discrepancy between the long chronology of 125 years assigned to Period III A, which is divided into three phases, and the much shorter span of 75 years allotted to Period III B, for which no subdivisions are proposed. This discrepancy is the more striking when one recalls that a far greater amount of the pottery brought to light at Mycenaean sites must be classed as III B than as III A.

The transition from Middle Helladic to Late Helladic is still shrouded in obscurity. At northern sites it seems to have been effected much later than in the south. No evidence from stratification has yet been found to bear decisively on this problem. Exactly how and how far the mainland area came under Minoan cultural influence is likewise a question that has not yet been fully answered. Mycenaean relations with the far north of Greece and with the Anatolian coast are still rather the subjects of speculation than of known fact. There are many other general as well as specific problems. Here, too, it is obvious that the systematic excavation of a fresh site might add much to supplement what is already known and to fill serious gaps in the record. But a site still retaining a substantial deposit, with its stratification unimpaired, will have to be sought with patience and care. If one exists and can be found at all, it deserves to be excavated with most attentive stratigraphic method.

Nothing has yet been said about chronology which, though it is of course a thorny perennial problem in preclassical archaeology, is not a special concern of this paper. For the Late Helladic Period and its three major divisions, at any rate, there can be little doubt that the dating now widely accepted (*e.g.* by Furumark) is reasonably well attested and as nearly correct as one could hope to attain. For the Middle Helladic and Early Helladic Periods, however, the margin of error grows progressively larger, and the chronological limits of the Neolithic Period still remain highly uncertain. With the evidence now available almost the maximum has been done in the way of combination and comparison; and until our knowledge of those periods themselves and their subdivisions can be rounded out more fully, there is little prospect of decisive further progress. It is tempting on the basis of similarities and parallels and combinations to draw up broad correlations and equations, but when the evidence is scanty the danger of being led astray is great. It seems to me we have now reached a point when it is desirable and necessary to restrain speculation and imagination and to seek fresh evidence. Innumerable untouched preclassical sites still exist in Greece. Surely one or several could be found, perhaps in Thessaly, Boeotia, and the Peloponnesos, the systematic excavation of which in the light of present knowledge might yield answers to many of the problems that confront us. A new thorough exploration, especially with reference to the Neolithic, Early Helladic, and Middle Helladic Periods, could hardly fail to produce fresh information of value. No major excavation in this field has been undertaken for a decade. It is time to call on the spade again.

Carl W. Blegen

THE RECEPTION HALLS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS

In his admirable paper 'Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum' (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser* 3, 2. Copenhagen, 1941) Dr. Einar Dyggve has revealed to us the type of the emperors' reception halls—*la basilica ipetrale per ceremonie*—in the late Roman empire. Analysing in a masterly way the famous mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo showing the Palatium of Theoderic, the missorium of Theodosius, the literary evidence for the Magnaura of Constantine, and architectural material, such as the palace of Diocletian in Spalato, from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D., he defines a highly monumental tripartite architectural complex consisting of a *tribunalium*, also to be styled *atrium* or *basilica discoperta*, with a triumphal arch at its upper end, then a *triclinium* behind the *atrium*, and finally a most holy innermost absidal room, a choir. The ceremonies belonging to it were connected with state appearances of the emperors and their courts before a greater public. The men were assembled under the open sky in the nave of the *tribunalium* (*atrium*), and the ladies in the two-storeyed aisles (*loc. cit.*, fig. 29), as in the Byzantine churches (*loc. cit.* 31, note 1. *Cf.* below p. 31). This type of tripartite audience-suite was among the architectural schemes taken over by the Christians; indeed, as a matter of fact it was one of the most important ones, as shown by old St. Peter's, by S. Ambrogio in Milan and other early churches.[1] With the architectural form no doubt followed also ceremonies of the Imperial court.

All this had an interesting background in earlier Roman history, a background which should not be overlooked because of assumptions or even discoveries of direct Oriental influence. Rash conclusions of that kind are in vogue today.[2] No one has denied that there was a fresh and renewed

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[1] *Cf.* the collection of plans and discussion in R. Krautheimer's 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', *The Art Bulletin* XXIV (March 1942), 1 ff.

[2] H. P. L'Orange has made most inspiring and in parts excellent observations about Oriental influence, adding much of the greatest interest to our knowledge, but *cf.* my criticism of his 'Domus Aurea—Der Sonnenpalast' (*Serta Eitremiana*, 1942, 68 ff.) in *Eranos Rudbergianus* (*Eranos* XLIV (1946), 442 ff.). Replying in *Keiseren på himmeltronen* (Oslo 1949), 53, the brilliant Norwegian scholar in my view altogether misses the point. I still believe with L'Orange that the revolving *praecipua cenationum rotunda* of the Neronian Domus Aurea (Suetonius, *Nero* 31) had Oriental ancestry and cosmic meaning. But I also still insist that L'Orange's far-reaching conclusions about the rest of the Domus Aurea are unfounded (*cf.* p. 28). Above all, I insist that L'Orange ought more fully to realise the importance of the evident Roman tradition in the Domus Aurea: *rus in urbe* (Martial XII 57, 21), the Roman villas, the architectural type of the *porticus* villa used for the main *casino* of the villa (*cf.* already H. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 2nd ed., 1924, 51), the dome with revolving stars, described by Varro, *De r. r.* III 5, 17 (the fact is mentioned by L'Orange, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven', *The Art Bulletin* XXVII (March 1945), 19). The whole picture becomes dogmatic, one-sided, and unreal, if we do not observe the fascinating interchange between local and late imported elements, because of exaggerated interest for the latter.

I must emphasise, in any case, that architectural tradition is one thing, use and meaning another. The fact that we have a luxurious dome, with ingenious imitation of stars and heaven, in the *aviarium* described importation of Oriental features not only in the late Empire but as early as the days of—especially—Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. Martial summarises it splendidly in his praise of Trajan (X 72). Almost classic, of course, are Juvenal's words (III 63 ff.):

Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
et linguam et mores . . . secum
vexit . . .

But it is not sound to forget, in favour of these new waves of Orontes, the intrusion of Hellenistic–Oriental influence in the three last centuries B.C. The Oriental elements here go together with all the Hellenistic items which —reshaped in Italy—moulded the style and programme of the Roman empire.[3] Traditions from the Etruscans and from old Rome, and Oriental and Hellenistic elements, had by late Republican days created the *consuetudo italica*, amply described as such by Vitruvius in his fifth and sixth books and elsewhere, with all which that means in the way of revolutionary technique (concrete, etc.) and new features destined to dominate the future, such as the tenement houses described by Vitruvius (II 8, 17), domes like that of the *aviarium* described by Varro (*cf.* note 2), the Italic temples with their Greek decoration and traditions from the Tuscan temples, the shrines of the ancestral masks with their Hellenistic *fastigia*,[4] the typically Roman city planning,[5] the baths—as we see them in Pompeii, the *fora*, etc., etc.[6] Over and over again on Hellenistic ash-urns and sarcophagi we meet with expressive features, which reappear on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, not to speak

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by Varro, does not of course by any means exclude the possibility that the same features in the Imperial palace had a religious, cosmic meaning. In both cases the Oriental ancestry seems evident—the wooden domes in the Near East (*cf.* Lehmann, *op. cit.* 1 ff., and now E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome. A Study in the History of Ideas.* Princeton 1950). It is, however, necessary to observe how early such an achievement as the dome in question was introduced into Roman villa architecture, the main source, that is, of the Roman tradition of the Domus Aurea more than one hundred years later. The new influences from the Orient in Imperial times met with clearly exemplified and already rooted Hellenistic–Oriental achievements of the same kind in Italy. This should, of course, make us careful in our conclusions. The early appearance of wooden domes in Italy, stressed by Lehmann, is further of greatest importance for the whole history of that architectural type. In Italy domes, thanks to the Roman concrete, reached greater proportions and a monumental stability obviously unknown elsewhere or earlier. The Augustan domes of Baiae, and others also, show us how early this new, Roman, epoch in the history of domed architecture started. Without losing sight of the basic Eastern inspiration, we see here the Oriental legacy returning from Rome in a form amplified by its technique and by its grandeur, and of the greatest importance for what seem to be the original homelands.

[3] *Cf.* my summary 'Three Roman Contributions to World Architecture', *Festskrift tillägnad J. Arvid Hedvall* (Gothenburg 1948), 59 ff. I am happy to see how many of the ideas discussed in my contributions, and quoted also in notes 5 and 7, I have in common with G. Rodenwaldt and B. Schweitzer; *cf.* especially 'Die spätantiken Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst', *Leipziger Universitätsreden* 16, Leipzig 1949.

[4] C. Wendel, 'Armarium legum', *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse* 1946-7, 9. E. G. Budde, *Armarium und κιβωτός*, Diss. Münster 1939, fig. 44 ff. *Cf.* K. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom in der archäologischen Forschung seit* 1939 (Bern 1949), 162.

[5] I have summarised literature and discussion in 'Roman and Greek Town Architecture' in *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* LIV (1948), 3.

[6] *Cf.* E. Gjerstad, 'Die Ursprungsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserfora', and the literature quoted by him in *Acta instituti romani regni Sueciae* X (*Opuscula archaeologica* III, Lund 1944), 40 ff.

of the panels of the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus.[7] I mean disregard of perspective and proportion, display of figures and features of the landscape which are on the same level by piling them up above each other, continuation of an entire story in the same picture, and so on. This was probably due to early influences from a lively narrative Hellenistic style, inspired by Oriental art and akin to the rich detailed style of Hellenistic history, which classicism outdid. Triumphal paintings probably kept the style alive for special occasions in spite of the victorious official classicism of the Empire after Augustus, in the same way as today, for instance, styles which are quite *déclassés* but dear to the great public flourish on the great painted banners and tapestries illustrating the lives of the saints, set up at the canonisations in St. Peter's. It would thus indeed be rash to take this expressive style, the future ruler of early Christian taste, when it appears in Imperial times, as *solely* the *direct* influence from the contemporaneous Hellenistic Oriental world. That influence had already had an earlier history in Italy. H. Fuchs has in a most illuminating way discussed the same early amalgamation, on the vast field of political ideas, in the *Baseler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* (*Festband Felix Stähelin*, 1943, 38 ff.). I do not need to enter the field of Oriental cults, where the process is obvious and generally acknowledged, to prove that Oriental elements belonged to the great syncretism, remodelling Roman Hellenism or Hellenised Roman culture of late Republican Rome. We oversimplify in the most obvious way if we confound the already naturalised Oriental heritage from earlier times with elements from the same enduring Oriental source in the days of the later emperors, not seeing that the situation was far more interesting and complex than that!

The pre-history of the reception halls characterised by Dyggve affords us a concrete illustration of these general considerations. Like the images of the ancestors [4] great Romans could also get the *ius fastigii*. *Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem?* asks Cicero about Caesar.[8] The Greek background can be made clear by, for instance, Aristophanes, *Aves* 1109:

εἶτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἱεροῖς οἰκήσετε·
τὰς γὰρ ὑμῶν οἰκίας ἐρέψομεν πρὸς ἀετόν.

Caesar's *fastigium* is—as far as I have been able to discover up to now—the first indication of a Roman tradition of the right to have a shrine-like entrance.

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[7] *Cf.* Rodenwaldt, *JdI* LV (1940), 12 ff., and—for earlier discussion—my 'Roman Architecture from its Classicistic to its Late Imperial Phase', *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* XLVII (1941), 8.

[8] *Phil.* II 43, 110. *Cf.* Florus II 13, 91, Obsequens 67. That a gable over the entrance—such as the gods had in their shrines—meant consecration, is testified for instance by Cicero, *De oratore* III 180, Bekker, *Anec. Gr.* I 361, and others. It was a προνομία τῶν ναῶν. Caesar appeared as *deus* and *dominus*, when he received the Senate in the entrance hall of the temple of Venus Genetrix (Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 78). *Cf.* E. Wistrand, *Eranos* XXXVII (1939), 40.

That is basic for the whole development leading to the Imperial reception suites.

Next comes Caesar again, receiving the Patres Conscripti *sedens pro aede Veneris* and acquiring thus *praecipua et exitiabilis invidia* (Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 78). Caligula continued this tradition by using the temple of Castor and Pollux as a vestibule of the Palatine (Suetonius, *C. Caligula* 22) and making his appearance between his two brothers, the Dioscuri. L'Orange[9] has admirably pointed out that especially Caligula, Nero, and Domitian introduced Hellenistic and Oriental elements into the Imperial etiquette and art of the court. Together with that belonged, no doubt, his sacrilegious *vestibulum*, though we should not, on the other hand, lose sight of the earlier related attempts in Rome. The situation, with undeniable earlier and probably renewed inspiration from the East in Rome, is typical—and clear. The next step takes us to Nero and his entrance-hall to the Domus Aurea. Here L'Orange is evidently wrong in asserting over and over again[10] that the great central statue of the *vestibulum* of the Domus Aurea was Nero as a sun-god. We do indeed know that that identification might have been made elsewhere (nobody has denied or can deny that; *cf.* Dio Cassius LXIII 6, 2, where Nero appears among the stars on the purple *vela* of a theatre), but in this case—as H. Bloch also remarks *AJP* LXX 100—the only thing we know is that the *colossus* according to Suetonius, *Nero* 31, was *ipsius effigies*, and that according to Plin. XXXIV 45, S. *Vesp.* 18, Vespasian changed it into a statue of the Sun. In other words, L'Orange connects it, without foundation, with the Kosmokrator ideas (to which the *praecipua cenationum rotunda* very likely belonged), whilst in reality it belonged to another tradition, that of the Imperial attempts to create divine reception halls with all which that implies of earlier endeavours (Caesar, Caligula) and new importation of Oriental superstitions and *blanditiae* (to quote Martial *loc. cit.*). The story about the statue of Nero which was transformed to a statue of the Sun becomes pointless, if we do not see the *sidereus colossus* in this context and if we assume, without any foundation at all, that it was a statue of Nero as the Sun from the beginning.

Then follows Domitian. As Claudius had removed the offence given by Caligula's usurpation of the temple of the Dioscuri (Dio Cassius LX 6, 8), so Vespasian transformed the *colossus* to a real god and started to turn all the Domus Aurea into *deliciae populi* (Martial, *De spectaculis* 2). Domitian again not only built his sensational palace on the Palatine but also returned once more to the idea of creating a stately propylon for the emperors towards the Forum Romanum. We see his solution of the problem in the building next to the so-called Templum Divi Augusti, which before the sixth century was remodelled as the church of Sta Maria Antiqua.[11] As I have hinted above, p. 25, ecclesiastical architecture had early adopted the type of tripartite imperial reception-hall for its purposes. The reception-hall of Domitian heralds that kind of building with an *atrium*, where the emperor could receive a greater crowd, and behind that—probably separated from the *atrium* by curtains—an inner hall (a *basilica*), and finally, the choir, now adorned by the painting of the crucifixion. Here—already in Domitian's time—appears the main conception of the future large reception-suites, studied by Dyggve. The next instances are the palace of Diocletian in Spalato and the Magnaura of Constantine,[12] where the *atrium* seems to have been a roomy *basilica discoperta* (to use Dyggve's appropriate terminology; see his fig. 45). Before Spalato we probably have to insert the palace of Nicomedia.[13]

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[9] See especially 'Domus Aurea—Der Sonnenpalast', discussed in note 2.

[10] Lately in *Keiseren på himmeltronen*, 53.

Appian (*BC* II 15, 102) detects new Oriental influence in the Forum of Caesar, which, as we see it, in my opinion clearly reproduces the type of Hellenised Italic *forum* known to us from Pompeii. Perhaps he referred only to the institutional function of the new *forum* or perhaps even to the endeavours to create closed monumental units protected by high enclosure walls, which are typical of the Imperial *fora* (in contrast to a *forum* like that of Pompeii with its otherwise identical planning). In the same way the tripartite reception-halls, both the forerunner, of Domitian, at the Forum, and the later very much enlarged and more luxurious reception-suites of the fourth and succeeding centuries, might have revealed elements of recent and repeated Oriental influence. But it would indeed be hasty to assume only new Oriental or Hellenistic models. On the contrary, these buildings were part of the Latin penetration of the East, typical of the reconstruction of the empire of Diocletian and Constantine! Their colonnades etc. were, of course, due to Hellenistic influence. Whatever Eastern elements can have been added in the Imperial age, these reception-suites, as we meet with them, were a result of the remoulding of foreign influence in Rome since late Republican times, under the sway of Roman tradition and, later, of the spirit of the Imperial court in its various phases of development.

Which were, then, we may ask, the Roman traditions which co-operated to create a building such as the reception-hall of Domitian and the ceremonies for which it was created, and which we see developed in the fourth century to divine splendour, architecturally exemplified by the tripartite suites of Diocletian, Constantine, and so on? From a formal point of view I refer again to the *ius fastigii* and also to the typical tripartite disposition and axiality of the *atrium* and peristyle houses, inherited by the palaces of the Imperial age.[14] If we analyse the audience-suite of the palace of Domitian on the Palatine (not to be confused with the reception-hall at the Forum), we see the well-known unit of *atrium*, peristyle, and *tablinum* in every way magnified, but keeping the main original features such as axiality, a tendency to adorn the upper end of the hall with three doors or a niche with two flanking doors, etc. It is evident that already these features of palace architecture had importance for the tripartite reception-halls under discussion. But still more important as a formative element were, in my opinion, the Imperial state appearances in the Imperial *fora*. The background of these great architectural units in Hellenised *fora* like that of Pompeii with its Italic axiality and its Hellenistic porticoes is—as I have already insisted—evident. The Forum of Caesar, where he appeared in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix, belongs together with his *fastigium*, and in both cases Italic and Greek are, from the beginnings in the Etruscan and Hellenistic ages, fused in a way which it is impossible to disentangle entirely. As Gjerstad very well remarks (*loc. cit.* 68), this conception was forced upon the old Forum Romanum by Caesar, when he transferred the Rostra to its western end. They and the porticoes of the Basilica Julia and Aemilia formed the monumental unity that had become a standardised architectural requisite of the *auctoritas* of the Roman magistrates. The same is true of the basilicas with axial disposition and a choir, such as the basilica of Pompeii, and Vitruvius' basilica at Fano (though with transverse, not longitudinal, central axis, V 1, 6 ff.).[15] The axiality of all these architectural units and their offspring, the Imperial reception-halls, finally served the requirements of the Christian cult, only that its new spiritual content even strengthened the axiality and emphasised it by paintings or mosaics. The altar and its tomb took the place of the Roman authorities. Returning to the Forum Romanum in its Imperial shape, I quote finally Dio Cassius' splendid description of the function of that architectural complex at the funeral of Pertinax (LXXIV 4, 4). Here we see all the elements: the emperor—as in the fourth-century relief of the Forum on the Arch of Constantine—the senators in the Forum, and their ladies in the Julian and

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[11] For the date of the building *cf.* Dorothy M. Robothan, 'The Midas Touch of Domitian', *TAPA* LXXIII (1942), 132. H. Bloch, 'I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana', *Bulletino Comunale* LXIV (1936), 29 ff. See also Frank Card Bourne, *The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians* (Princeton 1946), with Bloch's criticism *AJP* LXX 100. For the later history of the building *cf.* Eva Tea, *La basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua* (Milan 1937. In the *Pubblicazioni della Università catolica del Sacro Cuore,* ser. 5, vol. XIV).

[12] Dyggve, *op. cit.*, 5, 54 and *passim.*

[13] *De mortibus persecutorum* 7.

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[14] A. Boëthius, 'Das Stadtbild im spätrepublikanischen Rom', *Acta instituti romani regni Sueciae* IV (*Opuscula archaeologica* I, Lund 1935), 182 ff.

[15] For the latest discussion of this passage of Vitruvius' work *cf.* F. Pellati, 'La basilica di Fano e la formazione del trattato di Vitruvio', *Pontificia accad. romana di arch.*, *Rendiconti*, vol. XXIII–XXIV (1947–49), 153 ff.

Aemilian porticoes: ἡμεῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ αἵ τε γυναῖκες ἡμῶν προσῄειμεν πενθικῶς ἐσταλμένοι· καὶ ἐκεῖναι μὲν ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπαίθριοι ἐκαθεζόμεθα. Here already we see the porticoes of the Hellenised porticoed *fora*, which, as a matter of fact, could be styled large *basilicae discopertae*, reserved for the ladies, as were the aisles of the Byzantine churches and the synagogues. The tradition seems to me to be evident, and Dyggve (*loc. cit.* 31) is no doubt right in assuming the same distribution of men and women in the *tribunalia* (or *atria*, *basilicae discopertae*) of the Imperial reception-suites.

The reception-suite of Domitian at the Forum is, on a small scale, a building created for the same type of festival meeting between the emperor and his citizens as the *fora*. After that miniature the reception-suites of Diocletian and Constantine represent the same idea enlarged and monumentalised. The *tribunalium* or *atrium* becomes something of a private *forum* with the same features as the public *fora* somewhat reduced and incorporated in the palace. Its Roman pedigree comprehends on the one hand the tradition from the *atrium*-peristyle houses and the palaces of Imperial Rome; on the other the Imperial *fora* and their heritage from Etruscan and Hellenised Italic *piazze*.

Gjerstad in his suggestive study [6] gives us a survey of axial structures from the Near East and assumes that there prevailed direct influence from the Hellenistic world in the Imperial *fora*. I lay more stress upon the older Oriental and Hellenistic elements alive in the Roman development. There is thus a divergence of opinion open to discussion, but both derivations agree in connecting the axial Roman *fora*, basilicas, and reception-suites with the great Oriental tradition of monumental state architecture—as I see it, not as a late importation of ready-made forms, but deep-rooted by centuries of remoulding by contact, renewed again and again directly or via the Hellenised towns. Thus they are also distant relations to architectural schemes which Alan Wace has made us understand in a new way, the courts and *megara* of the palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns, or even private houses such as the 'House of Columns', now described and analysed in his *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide* (Princeton, N. J. 1949).[16]

AXEL BOËTHIUS

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[16] *Cf.* already K. Hanell, 'Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Tempelhofes', *Acta instituti romani regni Sueciae* II (Lund 1932), 228 ff.

SPENDEKANNE AUS SAMOS

(PLATES 8–9)

Im Heiligtum der Hera von Samos kam eine etwa 30 cm hohe tönerne Kanne (TAF. 8) zutage, die an Nachlässigkeit der Ausführung wohl nur von wenigen dort gefundenen Geräten überboten wird und trotzdem zu den bemerkenswertesten keramischen Funden des Heiligtums gehört. Ich habe sie schon in ‘ Satyrtänze und Frühes Drama ’ (*SB Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1943 Heft 5, 10 ff.) kurz erwähnt und dem mittleren Drittel des siebenten Jahrhunderts zugewiesen; sie muss noch älter sein, wie sich aus den hier angestellten Vergleichen zeigen wird.

Es handelt sich um eine ‘ Figurenvase ’, um ein Gefäss, das weitgehend in eine plastische Gestalt verwandelt ist. Trotzdem können wir sie zunächst einmal als gewöhnliches Gefäss betrachten, wenn wir berücksichtigen, dass, dem figürlichen Gegenstand zuliebe, der Ausguss tiefer, in die untere Hälfte des Gefässes, gerückt ist und dass wohl auch die besondere Abrundung der Schultern im Zusammenhang mit der plastischen Gestalt steht. Zugrunde liegt offenbar ein in jener Zeit seltener werdender Gefässtypus, die Spendekanne mit dem seitlichen Ausgussrohr. Sie ist ein Erbstück aus dem zweiten, ja, wenn man will, aus dem dritten Jahrtausend; besonders mit einem bügelförmigen Henkel über der Mündung war sie in spätmykenischer Zeit sehr beliebt gewesen und zumal auf Kypros, aber auch auf Kreta und an anderen Orten hatte sie in den frühen Jahrhunderten des ersten Jahrtausends ein Nachleben, wobei Aufbau und Mündung verschieden variiert werden; es genügt, für die spätmykenische Periode auf *BSA* XLII (1947), 52 Fig. 22 C, 53 f. und auf Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery* 30 f.; 34; Fig. 5, 159; Fig. 6, 155 zu verweisen, für Kypros auf *Cyprus Expedition* I, Tf. 126, 132 f. und 135, für Kreta auf *AJA* 1901 Tf. IX 16; *BSA* XII 45, 3210 f.; *Annuario* X–XII 194, 212, 489, 501, für andere Landschaften auf *Tiryns* I Tf. XVI 10. Als eine dieser Variationen lässt sich die samische Kanne ansehen, und wenn sich die Gefässform auch nicht genauer in die Entwicklung einreihen lässt, so zeigt sich doch eine füllige, schwellende Bildung an, die über die spröde Strenge der geometrischen Form hinausführt und etwa als ‘ subgeometrisch ’ bezeichnet werden darf.

Die Bemalung des Gefässkörpers führt etwas weiter, wenn sie auch in ihrer Flüchtigkeit und Dürftigkeit weit hinter den Möglichkeiten der Zeit zurückbleibt. Das Gefäss ist mit einem weisslichen Überzug bedeckt, wie er in der ostjonischen Keramik der nachgeometrischen Zeit als Malgrund überaus beliebt ist. Auf diesen Grund sind die auf Samos so wohlbekannten locker gesetzten breiten Reifen gemalt, zu denen grob gemalte Wellenlinien und Schlingenmuster kommen. Einigermassen deutlich sind die Reifen des Bauches und eine Schlinge an der rechten Schulter, die den Henkelansatz umrahmt; anderes ist zerstört oder in der Photographie unkenntlich. Technik und Ornamentik würden das Gefäss nach den Erfahrungen, die das Studium der samischen Keramik gebracht hat, in die erste Hälfte des siebenten Jahrhunderts verweisen. Die grossen Schlingenmuster dürfen auch, so roh sie sind, neben die feineren und bedeutenderen ähnlichen Rankengebilde der Gefässe von Korinth und Athen gestellt werden. Das ergibt freilich keinen sehr gesicherten Anhalt für die Datierung. Das Schlingenmuster begegnet ja noch auf attischen Gefässen des ausgehenden siebenten Jahrhunderts, z.B. auf der unveröffentlichten Rückseite der grossen Bauchamphora in Ägina (Kübler, *Altatt. Malerei* Abb. 74). Aber seine eigentliche Domäne ist doch die Zeit der Jahrhundertwende und des ersten Drittels des siebenten Jahrhunderts, die Zeit der korinthischen Kannen von Cumä (Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens* Tf. VI 1b; 2a; Payne, *Protok. Vasenmalerei* Tf. 7, 2), des Londoner Skyphos (Johansen Tf. 25, 1b; Payne, *Protok. Vas.* Tf. 14, 4), der Athener Pyxis (Payne, *Protok. Vas.* Tf. 8), der frühattischen Hydria Vlastos (*BSA* XXXV Tf. 44, Kübler Abb. 9), der Berliner Halsamphora (*CVA Berlin* Tf. 41), der Kanne und des Kraterfragments vom Kerameikos (*AA* 1934, 215; Kübler Abb. 23; 15), der New Yorker Nessosamphora (*JHS* 1912, 377). Wenn das samische Stück nicht einen der verspäteten Nachläufer darstellt, wird man ihm seinen Platz in dieser Gegend anweisen.

Die Entscheidung bringt die plastisch-figürliche Ausgestaltung des Gefässes, wennschon auch sie mit einer geradezu erstaunlichen Nachlässigkeit ausgeführt ist. Die obere Mündung ist durch einen plastischen Kopf ersetzt, der ein Einfüllen an dieser Stelle verwehrt. Als Henkel dienten anscheinend zwei menschliche Arme, von denen freilich der linke ganz verloren ist. Dieser linke bildete vielleicht nur einen einfachen Stumpf; der rechte ist nach kurzem Ansteigen zum Ausgussrohr herabgebogen und umfasst es von links her. Die Röhre selbst ist deutlich als männliches Glied, mit Eichel und Hoden, gebildet. Ist auf die Formung und Bemalung dieser Partie einige Sorgfalt verwendet, so ist der rechte Arm ein unartikuliertes, schlingenförmiges Gebilde; die Finger sind durch Ritzlinien summarisch geschieden. Im Kopf stossen spitzzulaufender Hinterkopf und Gesichtsscheibe ziemlich hart aufeinander, der Übergang (die Rückseite des ‘ Haarkranzes ’) ist in groben Zügen zurechtgestrichen. Die spitze, gekrümmte Nase springt kräftig heraus und lässt die beiden Nasenlöcher erkennen. Darunter ist die Mundspalte roh eingetieft. Die abstehenden Ohren heben sich kaum vom Stirnhaarkranz ab. Das lange Kinn ist abgebrochen; vielleicht trug es einen Bart. Den Gipfel der Nachlässigkeit zeigt die Anbringung der Augen: sie sind zwar durch plastische Erhöhungen angedeutet und von plastischen halbkreisförmigen Brauenbögen umrandet, aber sie sitzen unterhalb der Nase, etwa in Mundhöhe, wobei noch dazu ihre Verbindungsachse seltsam schief steht.

Mit seiner figürlichen Ausgestaltung tritt das samische Gefäss in eine Gruppe von Spendekannen des ausgehenden achten und der ersten Jahrzehnte des siebenten Jahrhunderts. Drei verschiedene Arten der Verwandlung lassen sich unterscheiden. An erster Stelle sei die Verwandlung des Kannenhalses in eine Tierprotome genannt; ihr bekanntestes Beispiel ist die parische Greifenkanne von Ägina im Britischen Museum (*JHS* 1926 Tf. 8). Die beiden anderen Typen bedienen sich der seitlichen, aus der Gefässschulter entspringenden Ausgussröhre, und zwar verwandelt der eine von ihnen diese Röhre selbst in ein figürliches Gebilde, in Greifen- oder Tierprotome (*Annuario* X–XII 114, 148, 315, 503), der andere belässt die Röhre als Röhre und bildet die Mündung als Kopf. Je nachdem dieser Kopf eine Öffnung zeigt oder nicht, kann das Einfüllen des Gefässes an dieser Stelle geschehen oder muss sich des Ausgussrohrs bedienen: der Kopf des ziemlich zylinderförmigen und abgekanteten spätgeometrischen Gefässes von Knossos (*AJA* 1897, 263; *Annuario* X–XII 620; *Hesperia* XIV Tf. 24, 3) ist geöffnet, während die subgeometrische Kanne aus Arkades, die offenbar das Bild der festlich geschmückten Göttin mit erhobenen Armen zugrunde legt (*Annuario* X–XII 245), nur durch das Ausgussrohr gefüllt werden kann. (Dieses kretische Gefäss stimmt übrigens auch darin mit dem samischen überein, dass es die brauenüberwölbten Augen in nachlässiger Weise unter die Nase herabrückt.) Würde man die samische Kanne lediglich nach ihrer Formidee, als Variation ihres Typus, beurteilen, so würde man wohl auf die gleiche Entstehungszeit raten, die auch durch Gefässform, Technik und Bemalung nahegelegt wird: die subgeometrische.

Zum Glück liefert auch der Kopf selbst, trotz seiner grotesken Bildung und trotz seiner rohen, erstaunlich nachlässigen Ausführung, unverächtliche Anhaltspunkte für die Entstehung des Werkes: ja er hat seine bestimmte Stelle in der Reihe der tönernen Votivfiguren des Heraions und damit in der Entwicklung der griechischen Plastik. Setzt man in der üblichen Weise den bekannten Bronzekrieger der Akropolis (*AM* 1930 Beil. 44 f.; Matz, *Geschichte der griech. Kunst* I Tf. 30) ans Ende des achten Jahrhunderts and das protokorinthische Salbgefäss des Louvre mit plastischem Frauenkopf (Payne, *Necrocorinthia* Tf. 1, 8–11; Tf. 47, 4–5; *Protok. Vasenm.* Tf. 22 f.; Matz Tf. 83b) in die Mitte des siebenten, so ergibt sich für die Fülle der samischen

Tonfiguren der ersten Hälfte des siebenten Jahrhunderts trotz ihrer lokalen Eigenschaften und handwerksmässigen Verschiedenheiten ein deutlicher Weg, den ihr Herausgeber D. Ohly (*AM* 1940, 67 ff.; 1941, 1 ff.) schon sehr überzeugend und anschaulich gezeichnet hat.

Ins späte achte Jahrhundert führen dann einige Tonfiguren zurück, die die Augen als plastische Scheiben aufsetzen, diese Scheiben durchbohren oder lebhaft bemalen und damit den Blick ähnlich steigern, wie es spätgeometrische gemalte Figuren tun. Der an Kinn und Haarkranz stark beschädigte Kopf T 862 (TAF. 9(*e*)), der die Augen in grosse flache und runde Mulden setzt, und der anscheinend langbärtige und mit Raubtierzähnen ausgestattete Kopf T 780 (TAF. 9(*b*)) werden hier zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht, der vielleicht unbärtige Kopf T 1244 (Ohly, *AM* 1941 Tf. 15) reiht sich an, die eindrucksvollen Herafiguren T 1243 und T 738 (Ohly Tf. 15) scheinen die Entwicklung bis etwa an das Jahrhundertende weiterzuführen. Einige dieser Figuren haben ihre Verwandten in kretischen Tonfiguren von Vrokastro, H. Triada und Knossos (Hall, *Vrokastro* 101; *Annuario* X–XII 618 b und c, 621 b; Spendekanne 620 s.o.), Figuren, die teilweise auch durch das aufgemalte Ornament (Hall 101; *AJA* 1897, 263) in den spätgeometrischen Kreis verwiesen werden; auch die Beziehungen der beiden Herafiguren T 1243 und T 738 zur Stufe des Akropoliskriegers und des amykläischen Apollokopfes (*AM* 1930 Beil. 44 f., 42 f.; Matz Tf. 30 f.) liegen am Tag.

Aus dieser spröden, körperlosen, phantastischen Figurenwelt erheben sich—wie wir annehmen: um die Jahrhundertwende—neue Gestalten, die die geometrische Grundform mit quellendem Leben durchdringen. Der behelmte Kopf T 62 (Ohly Tf. 12), der in der Maltechnik mit unserer Spendekanne übereinstimmt, geht über den amykläischen hinaus. Noch deutlicher ist die Abrundung und Auswölbung der Formen an dem Herakopf T 36 (Ohly Tf. 12) und dem bisher unveröffentlichten Kopf T 493 (TAF. 9(*a*), (*c*)). Der Herakopf mit dem spätgeometrischen Halsschmuck lässt die Augen mit gewölbten Kuppen heraustreten und die Nase mit den Brauenbogen zu einer plastischen ‘ Arkade ’ verschmelzen, die im ersten Viertel des siebenten Jahrhunderts in verschiedenen Landschaften, besonders in der Peloponnes, begegnet. Etwas Ähnliches zeigt der Kopf T 493, der auch zu einer deutlichen Ausprägung des Hinterhauptes übergeht und damit Bildungen wie die des späteren Kopfes T 230 (Ohly Tf. 17) vorbereitet. Das Kopfprofil unserer Spendekanne steht eher auf der älteren als auf der jüngeren Stufe; auch die Augenbildung und Augenumrahmung wird man an den genannten drei Köpfen T 62, T 36, T 493 verwandt finden. (Als äusserliche Übereinstimmung mit T 493 sei die nachlässige Tiefstellung der Augen vermerkt, die schon an dem geometrischen Kopf T 341, Ohly Tf. 2, einen Vorläufer hat.) Wie die formklarere peloponnesische Kunst sich in der gleichen Zeit und aus dieser Tradition heraus noch später äussert, können wohl die korinthischen Kopfgefässe in Mainz, in Erlangen und im Vatikan (TAF. 9(*d*), (*f*); *Schumacher-Festschrift* 199 f.; Maximova, *Vases plastiques* Tf. 43, 162), die grossen tönernen Gorgoköpfe aus Tiryns (Hampe, *Sagenbilder* Tf. 42; Karo, *Führer durch Tiryns*, 2 Aufl. 47; Matz Tf. 57b), vor allem aber die überlegene Kesselprotome von der Akropolis (*AM* 1930 Beil. 46; 1941 Tf. 23; Matz Tf. 58a) erweisen.

Auf Samos spiegeln der Herakopf T 396 und die beiden Gerätprotomen T 395 und T 1147 (Ohly Tf. 14 f.; *AA* 1933, 256; *JHS* 1933, 287; Matz Tf. 36) eine neue Welle grosser Phantasie und erregter Visionen, die offenbar drüben in Korinth und Argos stärker von der Form gebändigt wird. Gegenüber dem Herakopf T 36 zeigen schon Halsschmuck, Ornamentik und Maltechnik eine neue Phase an; das Gleiche tun die ausladenden, gleichsam über die Ufer fliessenden Gesichtsformen, vor allem auch der mächtig gesteigerte Blick, der aus länglichen, stark gewölbten und stark umränderten Augäpfeln hervorbricht. Der Gesamteindruck bringt die genannten korinthischen Figurenvasen und Tirynther Gorgonenköpfe, aber auch unsere Spendekanne in Erinnerung, und man wird diese Kanne nicht deswegen später ansetzen wollen, weil sie mit Wellen und Schlingen statt mit Quadraten und Rauten verziert ist: das Nachleben der Teppichmuster ist nicht nur in Ostjonien etwas durchaus Gewöhnliches. Als korinthische Tonfigur scheint der Kopf aus Perachora (Payne, *Perachora* I Tf. 87, 1) in diesen Zusammenhang zu gehören, ein bedeutsames Werk, eher des ersten als des zweiten Jahrhundertviertels; die Elfenbeinsphinx von Perachora (*JHS* 1932 Tf. 10; Matz Tf. 65a) geht in Gesichtsformen und weicher Haarbildung jedenfalls einen Schritt über ihn hinaus.

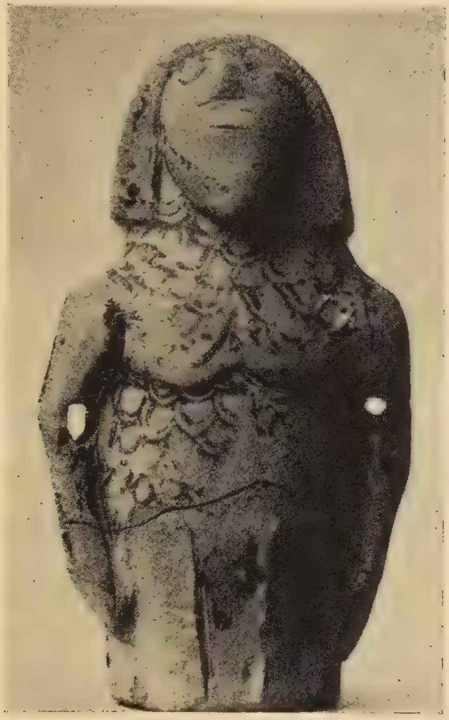
Neben der erregten Gruppe der Köpfe T 396, T 395, T 1147, in denen geometrische Phantasiekraft noch einmal aufbäumt, neue organische Körperfülle mit Macht durchbricht, mögen gemässigtere entstanden sein. Jedenfalls stehen einige Werke mit ihr in deutlichem Zusammenhang, in denen das Übermass abklingt, eine schmiegsamere Bildung der Körperteile einsetzt. So legt die Herafigur T 1074 + 906 (Ohly Tf. 19) der Hinterkopfbildung noch kantige Formen wie an T 493 (TAF. 9(*a*), (*c*)) zugrunde, stattet sie aber mit weicherer Fülle aus; an dem bärtigen Kopf T 230 (Ohly Tf. 17) ist das kantige Profil durch eine dem Schädel folgende, weichgeschwellte Kurve ersetzt; der Kopf T 322 (Ohly Tf. 20 f.) macht das Haupthaar zur geschmeidigen Kappe, der Kopf T 715 (Ohly Tf. 20) löst es in lockere Einzelsträhnen auf. Es handelt sich gewiss nicht um eine geradlinige Reihe von Haardarstellungen, aber doch um eine sinnvolle Gesamtentwicklung, die das Erbe der geometrischen Kunst in allen Landschaften stufenweise überwindet. Versucht man, das Kopf- und Haarprofil unserer Spendekanne als Glied dieser Entwicklung zu verstehen, so wird man eher in die Zeit von T 493 (TAF. 9(*a*), (*c*)) und T 1074 + 906 (Ohly Tf. 19) als in die Zeit von T 230 (Ohly Tf. 17) und T 322 (Ohly Tf. 20 f.) geführt. Doch wird man bei der Nachlässigkeit der Ausführung noch weitere Umschau halten müssen.

Nimmt man an, dass mit den peloponnesischen Kesselprotomen Olympia —Boston (*JdI* 1937, *Olympiabericht* Abb. 34, 36, 38, Tf. 21; Matz Tf. 59) und Delphi (*Delphes* V Tf. 13, 3; Kunze, *Kret. Bronzereliefs* Tf. 56c; Matz Tf. 57a) das dritte Jahrzehnt erreicht ist, so ist in dieser Zeit nicht nur für die Ausbildung des Schädels und der Haarkappe eine fortschrittliche Formel gefunden, sondern auch dem ‘ dädalidischen Stil ’ schon in bedeutsamer neuer Ordnung vorgearbeitet. Auf samischer Seite ist hier der Kopf T 361 (Ohly Tf. 24) von Wichtigkeit, der nach seiner Fundlage dem zweiten Hekatompedos vorangeht; Profil und Haarführung erinnern etwa an die Göttin vom spartanischen Menelaion (*BSA* 1908–9 Tf. 10; Matz Tf. 62). Der Weg ist nicht weit zu der Herafigur mit dem Schlingenmuster T 393 (Ohly Tf. 22 f.), die im schmiegsamen Fall des Haupthaars weitgehend mit den geritzten Kriegern des zweiten Hekatompedos (*AM* 1933, 173; Ohly Tf. 23) übereinstimmt; die Umrahmung des Gesichts durch das seitliche Haar nimmt allmählich das ‘ dädalidische ’ Gleichgewicht an, die lockeren Einzelsträhnen sind aufgemalt. Dass sich um die Brüste dieser Göttin ein ähnliches Schlingenmuster legt wie um den Henkelansatz unserer Spendekanne, kann kaum zur zeitlichen Gleichsetzung verführen; die lange Lebensdauer des Motivs lässt allzugrossen Spielraum.

Es folgen dann, etwa zwischen 675 und 665 entstanden, die reichbemalte Göttin von Sparta (*BSA* XXXIII Tf. 7; Matz Tf. 65b), die in Athen (*BCH* 1937 Tf. 26, 1 und 2) und schliesslich die von Samos mit dem schrägen Mäntelchen T 387 (Ohly Tf. 25), die man sich schon als würdige Insassin des reifen zweiten Tempelbaues vorstellen kann; man darf sie vielleicht neben die genannte Elfenbeinsphinx von Perachora stellen. Neben die Sphinxfiguren vom Kerameikos (*AA* 1933, 271; Matz Tf. 71) tritt dann, etwa um 660, die Gerätprotome eines Mannes mit lockeren Haarsträhnen (*AA* 1933, 254; *JHS* 1933, 289; Ohly Tf. 28; Matz Tf. 90b); der Durchbruch zum volldädalidischen Stil, den diese Werke anbahnen, ist in dem Kopfgefäss von Kamiros (Maximova Tf. 30, 112; *JHS* 1949 Tf. 12 a, b) und vor allem in der schönen Herafigur T 723 + 748 (Ohly Tf. 26 f.; Matz Tf. 95) vollzogen. Es ist deutlich genug, dass unsere Spendekanne, selbst als zweitrangiger Nachzügler, nicht in dieser monumentalen Umgebung, neben den Herafiguren T 387 und T 723, ihre Stelle haben kann. Ein Ansatz ins mittlere

Jahrhundertdrittel scheint nicht möglich; alle Vergleiche führen eher ins erste als ins zweite Jahrhundertviertel, ja eher in die Jahre um 690 als in die um 680.

Der frühe Ansatz der Spendekanne ist für die Kunstmythologie von einer gewissen Bedeutung, da das dargestellte Wesen sich mit grosser Bestimmtheit benennen lässt. Man wird zwar angesichts vieler Köpfe, ja auch ganzer Figuren dieser Zeit im Zweifel bleiben müssen, ob ein Mann oder eine Frau, ein Gott oder ein dämonisches Wildniswesen gemeint ist, und man wird wohl manches, was uns grotesk oder fratzenhaft anmutet, mit grosser Vorsicht beurteilen müssen. Wer würde es wagen, den Kopf unserer Spendekanne oder den der älteren Spendekanne von Knossos (*Annuario* X–XII 620) mit Bestimmtheit aus dem höheren göttlichen Bereich auszuschliessen? Aber der ithyphallische Charakter und der betonende Gestus der rechten Hand schliessen in unserem Fall jeden Zweifel an der Deutung auf ein Wesen der niederen Mythologie aus; ja es kann sich nur um einen Satyros handeln, um eines der im siebenten und sechsten Jahrhundert zu Tausenden verfertigten Bilder der menschengestaltigen fülligen Dämonen, die später auf der ganzen Linie durch die Silensbilder abgelöst wurden. Ich habe in ‘ Satyrtänze und Frühes Drama ’ im Anschluss an andere zu zeigen versucht, dass es sich bei diesen Tausenden von Darstellungen nicht um menschliche ‘ Civilpersonen ’, auch nicht um unbenennbare oder unbekannte mythologische Wesen, sondern eben um die Satyroi handelt. Ganz offenbar ist der Dämon unserer Spendekanne ein Vorläufer der hockenden fülligen Gestalten, in die sich protokorinthische und korinthische Salbgefässe so häufig verwandeln (Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 180; Buschor ‘ Satyrtänze ’ 10–12). Sieht man von dem unsicheren Tierträger des Louvre (*CVA* III Cc Tf. 1, 1–3) ab, der noch dem ersten Jahrhundertdrittel angehören dürfte, so setzt die Reihe im mittleren ein mit einem Hockenden des Britischen Museums (94.7–18.3), den ich (‘ Satyrtänze ’ 10 und 11) auf Grund einer falschen, mir zugekommenen Notiz irrig als rhodisches Fundstück bezeichnet habe. Dieser Satyros, den ich mit gütiger Erlaubnis des Britischen Museums hier (ABB.) veröffentlichen darf, ist nach freundlicher Mitteilung von R. J. Hopper 5, 8 cm hoch und aus dem bekannten hellgelblich-grünen korinthischen Ton verfertigt. Der Kopf zeigt das Mündungsloch, ein Loch in der Standfläche scheint antik, zwei Schnurlöcher durchbohren die Ellbogengegend; die verlorenen Beine des Hockers waren offenbar besonders angesetzt gewesen, Kopf und Brustmuskeln scheinen freihändig modelliert, Fingertrennung, Stirnhaar und langwellige Strähnen auf dem Seitenhaar sind eingeritzt. Um das Mündungsloch war Stabmuster gemalt, darunter Zungenmuster, in Schulterhöhe Zickzack; auf der Rückseite des Körpers erscheinen zwei kaum mehr kenntliche Tierfriese, im oberen ist eine unregelmässige Rosette feststellbar. Der Kopf, der wie der Körper den dicklichen Dämon bezeichnet, weist am ehesten auf das zweite Jahrhundertviertel, auch die Haardarstellung und das Schuppenmuster des behaarten Leibes sind hier verständlich, strenge Haltung und Art der Aufhängung gehen den frühen Hockern in München, Paris und Rhodos (‘ Satyrtänze ’ 10) sichtlich voraus. Selbst wenn das Stück im dritten Jahrhundertviertel ausgeführt wäre, würde es sich an die Spitze der langen Reihe plastischer und gemalter korinthischer Satyroi stellen, als erster plastischer Nachfolger des Dämons unserer Spendekanne zu gelten haben.



Salbgefäss, B.M. 94.7–18.3.

Aber auch ohne den Londoner Satyros steht der samische in der Frühzeit keineswegs vereinzelt; er hat auf dem Gebiet der Vasenmalerei (worauf mich F. Brommer, E. Froeschle, E. Kunze aufmerksam machten) unverkennbare Brüder. Eine kegelförmige naxische Kanne aus Delos (*Délos* XVII Tf. 9, 4) zeigt den Tänzer mit herausgerecktem Hinterteil und nach hinten geführter Hand. Auf einem Amphorenbruchstück aus Ägina (*AM* 1897, 308) erscheint ein Tänzer mit angezogenem Unterschenkel, der in unzweideutiger Weise an spätere korinthische und attische Satyroi erinnert (‘ Fersenzieher ’, ‘ Satyrtänze' 27, Abb. 28; Payne, *Necrocorinthia* Tf. 33, 9; *JdI* 1890, 244). Man darf hier wohl den lebhaft bewegten Mann der frühattischen New Yorker Nessosamphora (*JHS* 1912 Tf. 12) und die mit Steinen um sich werfenden grotesken Dämonen der Berliner Aigisthosamphora (*CVA Berlin* I Tf. 19–21) anschliessen. Mit einigen dieser gemalten Satyroi kommt man nahe an die samische Kanne heran, und wenn die knossische Spendekanne schon das gleiche Wesen bedeutet hat, so ist der samische Satyros vollends aus seiner isolierten Stellung befreit. Zusammen mit den Tirynther Gorgonenköpfen (die vielleicht in unserem samischen Köpfchen TAF. 9(*b*) einen kleinformatigen Vorläufer haben) brachten diese ungefügen Tonfiguren, aus der gewaltigen Erregung ihrer Zeit heraus, die ersten plastischen Dämonenbilder zur Erscheinung.

Hat so die samische Kanne, gleichsam schon als Museumsstück, einen bedeutsamen Platz in der Reihe der Figurenvasen und der Götterdarstellungen, eingenommen, so wird diese Bedeutung erst ins rechte Licht gesetzt durch ihre Verwendung im Heiligtum; sowohl die auffällige Bildung als die nachlässige Technik wird erläutert. Die Kanne war weder ein Kultgerät im Altardienst der Göttin, noch eine Votivgabe, die die Schätze der Göttin vermehren sollte. Sie ist offenbar mit einer ganzen Gruppe ähnlicher Gefässe zum vorübergehenden kultlichen Gebrauch hergestellt und nach Vollzug der beabsichtigten Riten dem Heiligtum belassen, aber dem Auge entzogen worden. Sie gleicht darin bis zu einem gewissen Grad den vielen tausend im Heiligtum der Hera verbliebenen unbemalten Gefässen, die dem Gebrauch der Pilger bei den Jahresfesten dienten, von den abziehenden Besuchern im Heiligtum zurückgelassen wurden und dort sich zu Scherbenhügeln aufhäuften, Doch setzt eine Verwendung ganz besonderer Art unsere Kanne gegen den 'Pilgerschutt' der Jahresfeste ab. Über diese Verwendung gab die Auffindung einige Anhaltspunkte. Die Fundstelle ist merkwürdig genug. Sie liegt etwa 75 m südlich von der Osthälfte des damaligen Heratempels, des ersten Ringhallentempels, ist also erheblich von den Stätten des damaligen Kultes entfernt. Nach allem, was wir wissen, war der Altar jener Zeit ('Altar V', *AM* 1933, 163 Abb. 15) mit dem Tempel durch einen Pflasterweg verbunden, ein zweiter Weg scheint nach S.O., in die Gegend der kultlichen Badestelle des Herabildes geführt zu haben; der Kanal, der durch den Tempelvorplatz führt (*AM* 1933, 164 Abb. 16), gehört erst in die Zeit des zweiten Hekatompedos, die kultlichen Anlagen im Südteil des Heiligtums werden erst aus der Folgezeit stammen. Wenn nun auch die Fundstelle des Gefässes erheblich von allen uns für jene Zeit bekannten Gebäuden und Kultplätzen entfernt liegt, so ist die Kanne doch nicht etwa nachträglich an diesen Ort verschleppt worden. Sie fand sich aufrecht in die scherbenlose

Schwemmschicht vergraben, die damals schon unter der Oberfläche lag, und zwar in beträchtlicher Tiefe, mit einer Steinplatte als Unterlage (Unterseite −50). Der Schluss ist unabweislich, dass die Kanne, nach einer mit ihr vollzogenen rituellen Spende, hier vergraben wurde. Man darf vielleicht an eine Erweiterung des Heiligtums, an eine neue Grenzsetzung im Süden denken, die an einer Reihe von Punkten auf diese Art vollzogen wurde. Da die Fundstelle unter dem Imbrasosbett liegt, 12 m. s.ö. der S. W. Ecke der langen Südhalle, genau in der westlichen Verlängerung des Südrandes des Pflastervierecks (*AM* 1933 Beil. 48), dicht westlich der höher liegenden Ufermauer (Oberfläche hier +94), so wäre zu überlegen, ob nicht die Einbeziehung des Flusses in diese Gegend den Anlass zu den Spenden und unterirdischen Malsetzungen gegeben hat. Es ist ja vorläufig noch nicht auszumachen, wann der Imbrasos erstmalig diese Gegend durchfloss. Scherbenfunde schienen (*AM* 1930, 8) darauf hinzudeuten, dass er schon in geometrischer Zeit hier seinen Lauf nahm, aber es ist auch durchaus möglich, dass sich dies erst in subgeometrischer Zeit, in der Zeit unserer Kanne vollzog; andererseits ist es wahrscheinlich, dass der Imbrasosregulierung des mittleren siebenten Jahrhunderts (*AM* 1930, 21, 25 ff.; 1933 Beil. 48) schon ein älterer Flusslauf vorausging. Mag die Kanne nun unter dem neu herangezogenen Flusslauf oder unter einer anderen Grenzlinie vergraben worden sein: die flüchtige Ausführung des Kultgefässes würde sich wohl durch eine Serienherstellung, die Serienherstellung und Vergrabung wohl durch eine Grenzmalsetzung am einfachsten erklären.

Die Wahl des Satyros für das magische Wächteramt hat gewiss in dieser Zeit nichts Auffälliges. Der kraftgefüllte und kraftspendende Dämon ist der Träger der gleichen ungebrochenen Wildniskräfte, die in jener Zeit auch in den Bildern der Raubtiere und Fabelwesen zum Ausdruck kommen, alle Heiligtümer und Gräber, alle Bauten und Geräte mit übermenschlichen Kräften begaben. Niemals scheinen diese Kräfte von den Griechen so unmittelbar, so gewaltig empfunden und dargestellt worden zu sein wie in den frühen Jahrzehnten des siebenten Jahrhunderts, in der Zeit unserer Kanne.

ERNST BUSCHOR

DE L'ORIGINE DU PRISME TRIANGULAIRE DANS LA GLYPTIQUE MINOENNE

L'une des formes les plus fréquentes—et la plus originale à coup sûr—de la première glyptique crétoise est celle du prisme à trois faces décorées de motifs ornementaux ou de signes hiéroglyphiques.[1] Comme l'abondance des specimens de ce type correspond à une absence complète du type cylindrique,[2] si familier aux civilisations de la Mésopotamie, on a pu penser que l'un se substituait à l'autre, dérivait de l'autre. ‘ Le goût crétois ’, a-t-on dit,[3] ‘ répugnait à la décoration des frises indéfiniment prolongées; sitôt que l'on eut transformé le cylindre en un corps à arêtes vives et morcelé sa surface latérale en une suite de facettes, l'artisan crétois fut libre de les orner comme des unités indépendantes les unes des autres.’ Il est vrai que l'Ashmolean Museum à Oxford possède un prisme hexagonal,[4] décoré sur ses six faces de hiéroglyphes minoens, qui pourrait faire la transition entre le cylindre et le prisme à trois faces; mais j'ai peine à croire que le cylindre que les Crétois n'imitèrent que fort tardivement et qui fonctionnait à la façon d'un rouleau et non, comme le prisme à trois faces, à la façon d'un cachet, ait pu donner naissance à ce dernier; je doute que le *Stempsiegel* soit issu d'un *Rollsiegel*.[5]

Les relations étroites entre la glyptique minoenne et la glyptique de l'Asie Mineure,[6] où le *Stempsiegel*, de forme animale ou géométrique, connut autant et même plus de vogue que le cylindre, orientent dans une autre direction.[7] Le cachet anatolien se présente volontiers sous la forme d'un prisme aplati en forme de fronton dont la surface de base, plus large que les deux rectangles des rampants, est seule ornée d'un motif incisé (fig. 1).[8] Ce type, fréquent dans la Syrie du Nord et en Cappadoce, attesté dès les débuts de l'empire hittite, peut remonter à la fin du IIIe millénaire.[9] Un cachet crétois, récemment publié, qui provient du site de Mallia (fig. 2),[10] présente exactement la même forme, mais cette fois le décor ne se limite pas à la surface de base; des motifs couvrent également les deux rectangles du fronton. On

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[1] Sur cette catégorie de gemmes crétoises, *cf.* Evans, *Prae-Phoenician Script*, dans *JHS* 1894, 288; *Scripta Minoa*,134 et 139; Chapouthier, dans *BCH* 1946, 80–81; Agnes Xenaki, dans *Kretika Chronika* III, 60 sqq.; Matz, *Frühkretische Siegel*, 101.

[2] Sur le cylindre en Crète au Min. Rec. III, *cf.* Evans, *PM* IV, ii, 496–499; Chapouthier dans *AE* 1937, 321–324; Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*^{2}, 385, n. 60; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 300–304.

[3] Matz, *Frühkretische Siegel*, 101. Evans constatant que certains prismes crétois sont de formes assez grossières, avait pu penser que le type avait été suggéré aux Minoens par certains éclats naturels de stéatite, cf. *Further Discoveries*, dans *JHS* 1897, 330 ‘ The trilateral bead-seals originate from more or less natural triangular splinters of steatite ’; je ne crois pas que l'hypothèse soit à retenir.

[4] Inédit, provient de la collection Evans; Sir John Myres doit le faire connaître sous peu.

[5] L'hypothèse semble pourtant avoir été retenue par Evans, non point à propos des prismes crétois, mais à propos d'un prisme égyptien en stéatite de la première période intermédiaire, cf. *JHS* 1897, 363 ‘ The elongated type, with large central perforation, shows such an approximation to the cylinder that some influence from that type of signet might reasonably be suspected ’; mais il s'agit là d'un type un peu différent, et, même en ce cas, la dérivation proposée me semble fort problématique.

[6] Pour les types de forme animale, *cf.* Matz *Frühkret. Siegel*, 28–29, 269–270; Demargne, *Crète, Egypte, Asie*, dans *Annales de Gand*, II, 53; pour les types géométriques, Matz, *op. cit.*, 100 ‘ Unter den nicht figürlichen kretischen Formen gibt es keine, die sich nicht ohne Schwierigkeit auf eine der hittitischen zurückführen lässt ’.

[7] La dérivation semble avoir été entrevue par G. Contenau, *Glyptique syro-hittite*, 178, n. 1; mais on ne disposait pas alors des spécimens intermédiaires.

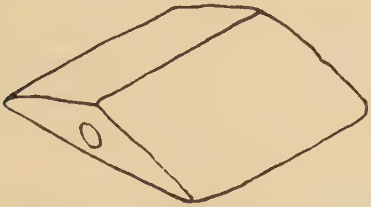
Fig. 1.—Cachet anatolien.

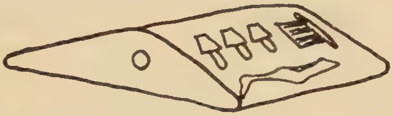
Fig. 2.—Cachet minoen à trois faces (Mallia).

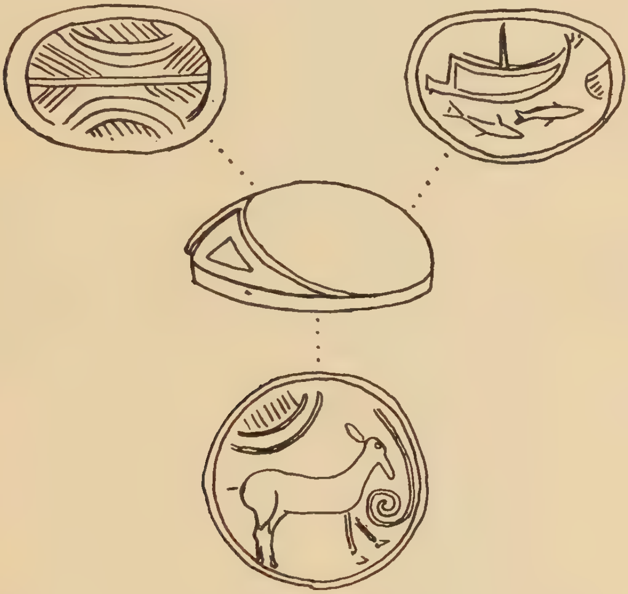
Fig. 3.—Cachet minoen à trois faces (Platanos).

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[8] D'après Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, 19, fig. 8*B*; *cf.* en outre, Contenau, *Glyptique syro-hittite*, pl. X, 46; Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, 161, fig. 146 et 147; Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux du Musée du Louvre,* II, A 1176. Ce dernier exemplaire est donné comme chypriote; s'il en était ainsi nous posséderions un jalon intermédiaire sur la route de la Syrie vers l'Egée; mais je doute de l'attribution. Un cachet crétois inédit de la collection Giamalakis (nº 3013) présente cette même forme, mais le canal de suspension est perpendiculaire à l'axe de la pierre.

[9] *Cf.* Hogarth, *op. cit.* 100 ' This (the gable) I regard as the earliest Hittite form of stamp-seal ', et 94; Contenau, *op. cit.* 149. ' Nous pouvons les dater *grosso modo* de la première moitie du troisième millénaire'; mais cette dernière date me paraît trop élevée. Des cachets de cette forme ont été trouvés à Alishar Hüyük à un niveau intermédiaire entre l'âge du cuivre et le premier age du bronze, *cf.* notamment c 1225 dans *Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930–1932* I 183 et fig. 186; on peut les dater du dernier tiers du IIIe millénaire.

[10] D'après Demargne, dans *Mélanges Dussaud*, 122, fig. 1.

conçoit aisément que sitôt que les trois faces furent décorées, elles tendirent à devenir égales; sans parler des sujets qui pouvaient être d'égale importance, il ressort que l'inégalité des côtés présentait pour l'utilisation des faces secondaires, un énorme inconvénient: le sceau se trouvait déséquilibré et difficile à appuyer sur une surface. Un cachet triangulaire de la Messara (FIG. 3)[11] conserve une face principale, mais le toit du fronton est déjà notablement relevé. Il suffit de l'exhausser encore pour rendre la section équilatérale et aboutir au type qui caractérise le mieux la glyptique insulaire à l'époque des premiers palais.[12]

L'origine anatolienne rend compte en même temps de la zone de diffusion du prisme triangulaire. Sans doute l'art crétois l'a-t-il employé avec une particulière complaisance. Mais on le trouve ailleurs;[13] un cachet de la troisième civilisation de Anau dans le Turkestan[14] semble un proche parent des pierres minoennes; mais les motifs qui décorent ses trois faces sont de style ' hittite ' et l'on ne saurait imaginer un lien direct entre l'Égée et la Caspienne; le foyer est à mi-chemin: en Cappadoce.

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[11] D'après Xanthoudides, *The vaulted Tombs of Mesará*, pl. XIV, no. 1079 et p. 114, de la Tholos B de Platanos; daté du Minoen Moyen I, en ivoire.

[12] On en arrive même occasionnellement à la forme d'un fronton à angle aigu dont la surface la plus exigüe est celle de la base, cf. *Kretika Chronika* III 68, nº. 22.

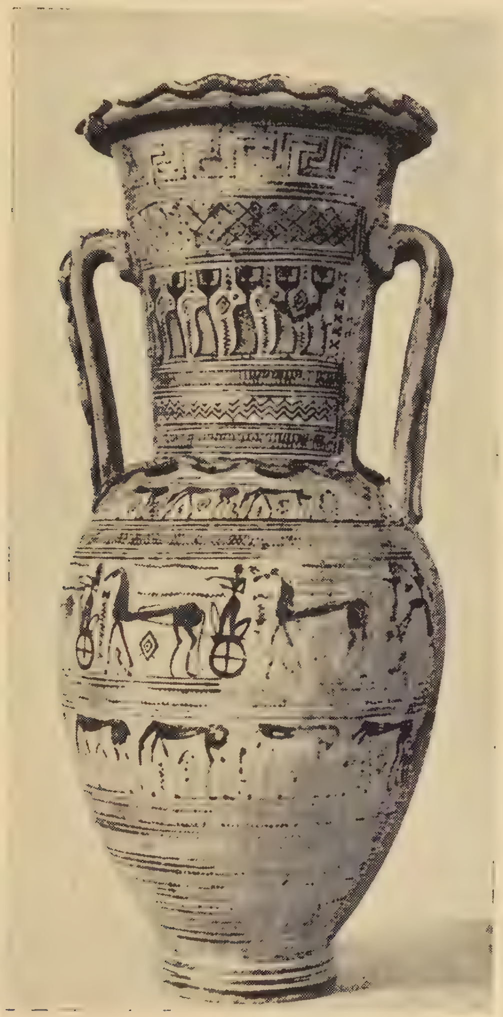
[13] Voir déjà plus haut la note 5.

[14] Publication du cachet par Hubert Schmidt, dans Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, I, 41, 10; 45, 8; fig. 400 et p. 169; commentaire, 182–183; les trois faces sont décorées d'un lion, d'un homme et d'un griffon. L'attribution à l'Asie Mineure est proposée par Schmidt, approuvé par Hubert, *RA* 1910, I, 307 et par Frankfort, *Studies in the pottery of the Near East*, I, 81–82.

A GEOMETRIC AMPHORA AND GOLD BAND

(PLATE 10)

Among the most interesting discoveries of the post-war years in Attica are a Late Geometric amphora and an impressed gold head-band; they are



Amphora in Stathatou Collection, Athens.

reported to have been found, the band inside the amphora, near Koropi in the Mesogaia, and were acquired together by Mrs. Helen Stathatou, who has graciously consented to my making them more widely known in this tribute to the master of Greek archaeology for whom both she and I have so high a regard. Each is a first-rate piece in itself, and the discovery of the two in one burial gives an added interest to the pair.

LATE GEOMETRIC AMPHORA (FIG., p. 45). Normal Attic Geometric ware, with dark brown or black glaze. Ht. 0·60 m. Diameter at mouth 0·235 m. Plastic snakes, with two rows of white dots, on lip, shoulder, and handles; the head of the snake on the lip dips down inside the neck of the vase. The glaze is faded on side A, so that the drawing on the neck-panel can no longer be followed in all its details.

Neck, A. Prothesis: corpse (probably male) in long robe laid out on four-legged bier; on either side a pair of female mourners, the inner ones with one hand extended in addressing the dead; two figures seated on the floor under the bier. *B.* Six mourners. *Shoulder, A* and *B.* Four stooping deer. *Main zone on belly.* Seven one-horse chariots. *Lower band on belly.* Eleven stooping deer. The charioteers in the main zone are unaccompanied, with one exception (on the right in FIG., p. 45) where a man (apparently helmeted since there is a faint trace of a crest fluttering over his long hair) is shown stepping with a long stride into the car. The man's right hand reaches out on to the crown of the driver's head, and his whole attitude seems aggressive, while behind him the painter has set a bush or tree from whose cover the man could be imagined as springing. In filling this space between the first and last chariots the painter may well have had the warlike theme of ambush in mind, though it is unlikely that he was thinking in terms of any particular incident from the Epos such as the killing of Troilos.

The vase takes a central position in the series of Late Geometric amphorae with figured scenes;[1] it is particularly closely related to the slighter amphora in Toronto,[2] and dates approximately to the last quarter of the eighth century B.C.

YELLOW GOLD BAND (PLATE 10). Length 0·335 m. Ht. 0·024 m. Tie-hole at either end.

The strip is divided into fifteen panels. Each of the eight figured ones is bounded by one or two squares containing geometrical lattice ornament, and terminates on the right in a hasta which (with the exception of that grasped by the centaur in no. 7) has prickles on the left side only. The panels are as follows: 1. (Width 0·018 m.) close lattice. 2. (0·028) horseman-combatant pair. 3. (0·017) doublet *kavalla*. 4. (0·023) lattice. 5. (0·022) three pitcher-bearers. 6. (0·025) lattice. 7. (0·05) running woman, skipping figure, three dancers, centaur. 8. (0·0185) lattice. 9. (0·017) two figures with arms linked. 10. (0·026) horseman and man in combat. 11. (0·006) broken lattice. 12–15 = 1 *bis*-4 *bis*. The last four panels are exact replicas of the first four; this can be seen particularly clearly in the peculiar opening lattice of the series, despite the smudging of the outlines on the second run due to the slipping of the gold strip when the design was being tapped out.

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[1] Cf. *BSA* XLII 146 ff.

[2] Robinson, Harcum, and Iliffe, 630, pl. 101.

The gold bands of the Geometric era found in Greece have recently been submitted to a careful study by W. Reichel,[3] who has drawn a sharp distinction between the earlier class with animals (impressed on dies which he supposes to have been imported from the Orient) and the Late Geometric series which embraces figured scenes. In the latter series there are two bands which are closely connected with Mrs. Stathatou's. The Berlin band GI 309 [4] is unfortunately inadequately illustrated; some, though far from all, of the motives resemble those on Mrs. Stathatou's band, but the measurements given shew that they are on a slightly smaller scale. On the other hand, the incomplete pale-gold band in Copenhagen, National Museum 741, which consists of four fragments adding up to a length of 0·257 m., is a true companion piece to Mrs. Stathatou's.[5] From a photograph and detailed information which Prof. P. J. Riis generously sent me I have no doubt that the band in Copenhagen was impressed on the same set of dies as that in Mrs. Stathatou's collection: certain small points of difference, which are apparent in the photographs and embodied in the drawings of the two bands, must have arisen from irregularities in the stamping and subsequent creasing; for the repetition of the same faults on both bands, as on the upper border at the left and in the lower margin at the right in panel no. 9, can only be due to flaws or chips on a single set of dies. The series terminated in a broken die (no. 11), whose scar is plainly visible in the middle of both bands, though at the right end of the one in Copenhagen its traces have been almost obliterated by overstamping on the end of an extraneous die. Since the order and alignment of the panels is identical on the two bands, it is certain that the dies were enclosed in a rigid frame; and the series may in fact have been engraved on a single block, since the broken die at the end would hardly have been left in position if it had been detachable. The photograph shows that the Copenhagen band is less crumpled towards the right end and is therefore more trustworthy in the rendering of most of the details of panels 7–10; it does not, however, follow that the dies were in worse condition when Mrs. Stathatou's band was made.

The block, or series of dies, may have originally been conterminous with the diadems impressed on it, in which case the series will have been about

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[3] W. Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief* (*Schriften z. Kunst d. Altertums*, d. arch. Inst., Bd. 5, Berlin 1942), § 2.

[4] Reichel, no. 22, pl. 5; the band is described *AA* 1904, 40 under inv. no. 8578.

[5] *AZ* XLII (1884), pl. 9, 1; Reichel, no. 21.

8 cm. longer and have lost a figured and a lattice panel as well as the greater part of panel no. 11. At the time when the two surviving bands were made the block had been reduced to a length of 25 cm., and in the stamping of strips about 33 cm. long some duplication of motives was unavoidable. The sequence of panels on Mrs. Stathatou's band is 1–11 and 1–4. On the band in Copenhagen the double sequence 6–11 is certain; but this would give short measure, and in fact the remains of the figure at the right end of the largest fragment are best matched by the first *hydriophoros* of panel no. 5; the sequence 6–11, 4–11 would, with the necessary adjustments, bring the Copenhagen band to a length of just over 32 cm. From the sequence of panels one may conjecture that the process was the same in the production of both bands; a sheet of beaten gold about 68 cm. long was impressed twice on the whole length of the block and on the third run over the stretch nos. 4–11; two bands of approximately equal length were then cut from it, each bounded by a lattice ornament so that the figured panel in the middle (no. 5) dropped out. At two points narrow folds have formed across the strip in the beating; they show that the direction in which the mallet was travelling was from 1 to 11 on the back of the gold sheet. Faint traces of pattern above the top bounding line on both strips suggest that the dies on the block may not have been limited to a single register; the edges of the band seem to have been cut after the design had been tapped out.

The later panels of the series are of course more or less familiar from the drawing of the band in Copenhagen. On panel no. 10 a man on foot assaults a helmeted horseman from behind; the horseman turns with levelled spear to face his opponent, but too late, for the reins have already slipped from his grasp. In panel no. 9 a man turns round towards a second figure whom he appears to be leading by the hand; both are moving to the right; the gestures are well suited to an abduction, but there is no clear indication that the second figure is female. On the right of panel no. 7 is a centaur facing right; he has the human forelegs normal in early archaic painting and is wielding a pine branch. The next figure also carries a pine branch, but is linked to a file of dancers, leaving the centaur in detachment. The left-hand figure does not hold hands, and its movement is that of flight; its sex seems to be indicated by one, if not two, superimposed excrescences on the right flank under the armpit. The small figure in between may correspond to one which is depicted skipping to the accompaniment of a lyre and handclaps on a Late Geometric kantharos which came to light in the Dipylon cemetery at the same time as the Copenhagen band.[6] The remaining panels appear here for the first time. No. 5 shows three figures of uncertain sex with pitchers on their heads moving briskly towards a series of prongs which possibly represent the jets of a fountain. It is remarkable that the very rare motive of pitcher-bearers is again found on the same kantharos in Copenhagen.[7] In no. 2 a helmeted horseman levels his spear against a pair of opponents, one of whom crumples up as though already smitten. The insolent group in panel no. 3 is clear in its outlines but obscure in meaning; it seems to be an ill-conceived parody of the warrior pair in panel no. 2.[8] Elements of these scenes could be explained as mythological subjects; but there is, as in contemporary vase-paintings, too little continuity of narrative to support such interpretations, and it is in fact unlikely that we have more than anonymous extracts from daily life and warfare. The paintings on Late Geometric vases generally preserve a certain unity of subject; but there is no such coherence in the scenes on the two gold bands, nor altogether on the kantharos in Copenhagen, which seems to have drawn its inspiration from such bands.[9]

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[6] Copenhagen 727, *CVA* II Pls. 73.5a–b, 74.2–6.

Reichel recognises these figured bands as products of the Late Geometric '*Flächenkunst*', in contrast to the earlier animal bands.[10] He dates the latter to the early years of the eighth century—probably too early, since they were found in graves with vases of the commencement of the Late Geometric style, and one example with lions devouring a hunter belongs to the same find as the figured band in Copenhagen.[11] In fact there can be no great interval in time between the introduction of these two classes; for the vases with which the figured bands Berlin GI 309 and Copenhagen 741 are associated do not belong to the latest years of the Late Geometric style in Attica, and indicate that such bands were already being manufactured in the third quarter of the eighth century.[12] An earlier date for these figured bands is ruled out by the presence of more or less fully evolved centaurs and horsemen, since both these motives only made their appearance at the time when the pure Geometric style of the Prothesis amphorae and Dipylon kraters began to be contaminated by external influences.[13]

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[7] W. Hahland (*Corolla Curtius* 126) seems to suggest that the vessels portrayed prizes in funerary contests.

[8] The traces of a tail in the drawing of panel 3 *bis* and of an extra foreleg in panel 3 are perhaps indicated a shade too positively; it is impossible to be certain that they were attached thus in the original design.

[9] *Cf.* especially *Corolla Curtius* 130 f., with the choice between dissociation and allegory.

[10] *Op. cit.* 31.

[11] *AZ* XLII (1884), pl. 9.2. This remarkable theme also recurs on the kantharos in Copenhagen.

[12] The Berlin band is said to have been found in a pitcher at Menidi (*AA* 1904, 40). The two bands in Copenhagen were found in the Dipylon cemetery together with the kantharos already mentioned and other objects acquired by the same museum. Prof. Riis has sent me the following note of the find: 'The band Inv. No. 741 was found in 1872 in the Geometric cemetery just opposite the Orphanotropheion (*cf. AdI* 1872, 135 ff.). It seems to be identical with the band *AdI* 1872, 136 no. 3, 155 no. 3. Other objects with the same provenance: Inv. Nos. 723 (Blinkenberg *Fibules*, 153, 171, no. VIII 5 i); 726 (*CVA* II pls. 72.4a–b, 74.1); 727 (*CVA* II pls. 73.5a–b, 74.2–6); 740 (*AZ* 1884, pl. 9.2); 742 (Blinkenberg, *Fibules*, 153, 171, no. VIII 5 g.; probably identical with the fibula *AdI* 1872, 136 no. 2).'

[13] The feline hind quarters of the 'centaur' on a figured band from the Dipylon (C. L. Scheurleer, *Catalogus eener Versameling* no. 536, pl. 51; Reichel, no. 11), as perhaps also the legless rider in panel no. 10 above, suggest that the new forms were still in an experimental stage.

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TRIGLYPH

There are several explanations current about the origin of the triglyph. First, that the frieze of triglyph and metope started from a decorative feature of Mycenaean art and survived—invisibly to us—until eventually Doric architecture emerged.[1] Secondly, that triglyphs are the fossilised remains of barred wooden windows, which early Greeks needed but their successors did not.[2] Thirdly, that triglyphs are the flattened vestiges of an upper row of columns, abandoned by the timid masons of the seventh century.[3] Fourthly, that the triglyph represents the end or a facing of the end of a wooden beam, this though in all ascertainable early instances the beams run from the course above the triglyph.[4] Fifthly, and liable to the same objection, that the metopes were originally the ends of beams and the triglyphs bars between them.[5] To each of these explanations—and probably to any other that has been or can be devised—there are serious objections. But since the treatment and the prominence of the orthodox triglyph give it an appearance of being an important structural member and particularly one of wood, the most popular explanation is the fourth, which derives the triglyph from the wooden beam. If this is accepted, the argument may reasonably be pushed further.

To judge by their remains on the ground and in models, Greek temples of the early Iron Age—at least till the end of the eighth century B.C.—were unpretentious narrow buildings with walls of mud-brick or rubble and steep thatched roofs.[6] In such buildings the cross-beams did not need to be close-set or massive, and their ends must have been masked by the projecting eaves that are usual with thatch. The effect, as can be inferred by observation of traditional farm buildings in this country, has no more resemblance to the triglyph-metope frieze than the uprights of a wire fence to a colonnade. It is therefore not surprising that the early models of temples show no signs of triglyphs, and that no contemporary metopes survive. To justify the closely spaced and sizable beams that would be required to produce recognisable triglyphs the roof had to be of wider span and heavier material; in other words the appearance of the triglyph should coincide with the transition to monumental architecture and durable building materials—more particularly to the heavy terracotta roofing tile. As it happens, some of the earliest such tiles, or rather some of the earliest that can be dated, have been found in association with the earliest metopes, which are also of terracotta: the corresponding triglyphs were presumably of wood, since nothing of them survives. The sites where these finds were made, Thermon and Calydon in Aetolia,[7] were not in their time at the centre of Greek culture, and it is not likely that it was there that these inventions took place. But the rarity hitherto of similar remains elsewhere suggests that the use of timber and terracotta for triglyph and metope was in general a transitional phase of short duration; and indeed the temple at Thermon, datable around 630 B.C., is only a generation or so earlier than the earliest known temple with entablature of stone.[8]

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[1] See most recently M. L. Bowen, *BSA* XLV 113–125.

[2] R. Demangel, *BCH* LV 117–63, etc. This differs from the fifth theory in that the windows need not be at the level of the beams.

[3] P. Zancani-Montuoro, *Palladio* IV 2, 49–64 (I quote Miss Bowen). *Cf.* also H. Kähler, *Das griechische Metopenbild*, 11–26.

[4] There is no cogency in objections that in the early buildings there could not have been beam ends at the front or at corners: porches could be connected by beams to the end walls, and anyhow once the frieze had been converted into a decorative feature it might well be tidied and extended all round a building.

[5] O. M. Washburn, *AJA* XXIII 33–49. He usefully summarises the versions of the beam end theory.

[6] See O. Hope Bagenal in *Perachora* I 42–51. There are advantages in Washburn's theory that early temples had flat roofs of unfired clay (*AJA* XXIII 33–49), but the evidence so far is for pitched roofs.

A model from Ithaca (*BSA* XLIII, pl. 45, 600) has chequers painted on its roof. These are not, I think, tiles or even shingles, but the potter's whimsical decoration as on other fragments of the same model and on a model from the Argive Heraeum (*AM* XLVIII, pl. 7). Inappropriate decoration is common enough in Greek Geometric art (cf. *e.g.* the figurines *Hesperia* Suppl. II, figs. 35 and 40).

In the many temples of the sixth century with stone entablature the triglyph is a merely decorative feature, for the cross-beams are set higher. Whether the Aetolian triglyphs were also decorative or were the ends of structural beams we do not know. But if triglyphs were in origin beam ends, the change might be explained thus: the creation of the triglyph invited decoration of its companion the metope; to display the new frieze properly its position in relation to the eaves had to be lowered; and since the tradition was still fluid, lowered it promptly was.

The argument has been that the triglyph appeared—and could only have appeared—in the phase of transition from the small chapel with thatched roof and walls of mud-brick or rubble to the large temple with tiled roof and generally a colonnade and walls of hewn stone, and that this transitional phase was short in time.[9] But the triglyph was not an inevitable development from a beam end: at least similar primitive forms developed differently in Ionia and in other parts of the world, and the general uniformity of the Doric style—even in arbitrary details—tells against a gradual and simultaneous development over a wide area. If then the peculiarity of the Doric triglyph was not the result of a long or natural evolution, it is likely that it—with perhaps other features of the Doric style—was the creation of an individual or less probably, since Greece cannot then have supported many architects, of a small group. The date seems to be about the middle of the seventh century. As for the locality, Corinth has the best claims on general grounds and the style of the painting on the Aetolian metopes and of the antefixes found with them is undeniably Corinthian.[10]

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[7] For Thermon see *AD* II, pls. 50–2A and text; H. G. G. Payne, *BSA* XXVII 124–32 and *Necrocorinthia*, 96 and 254. For Calydon, E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion*, 149–63, 236–9.

[8] According to the dating conventionally accepted for Greek pottery, which is here pegged to the Thucydidean date for the foundation of Selinus. By the same system of chronology we have temple B, Calydon *c.* 610–600; the Heraeum, Olympia *c.* 590–80 (H. E. Searls and W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA* XLIX 62–80); the temple of Artemis, Corcyra *c.* 590–85 (H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 244); the temple of Apollo, Corinth *c.* 540 (S. S. Weinberg, *Hesperia* VIII 191–9).

[9] G. Rodenwaldt, noting the simplicity of Geometric temples, argued that the Doric style could not have been the outcome of a continuous architectural tradition; but he borrowed the triglyph from domestic building (*AM* XLIV, 175–84).

Postscript. While this paper was in the press A. von Gerkan's paper on the origins of the Doric style appeared (*JdI* LXIII/LXIV, 1–13). Though I agree with much that he writes, I do not think there is evidence for the development of the low-pitched tiled roof from the flat mud roof in Greece proper.

R. M. Cook

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[10] *Cf.* H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, ch. xvii and especially 250 n. 3. W. Dörpfeld has argued that by ἀετός, which according to Pindar (*O.* XIII, 21–2) was invented at Corinth, is meant the low pediment that goes with the tiled roof (*AM* XXXIX 168). This use of ' eagle ' for ' pediment ' arises presumably from the similarity in shape between the low pediment and the outstretched wings of the bird.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS OF MODERN FOLKTALES

For two reasons I feel justified in sending this small paper to the volume of the *British School Annual* to be dedicated to my friend Professor A. J. B. Wace. From his earliest visits to Greece, from the days before the First World War when he and I travelled together in the Greek Islands, Professor Wace, together with his learning as an archaeologist, has always shown the most sympathetic interest in the later and contemporary life of the Greek people. This is one reason; the other is that I find here an opportunity to bring before a number of readers, most of whom have travelled in Greece, a mass of freshly published material bearing very closely on the character and ways of thought of the Greeks as they are now and, I believe, have been even from the days of classical antiquity.

This is hardly the place to debate how far these stories of Modern Greece are direct local survivals of the stories and legends of the ancient Greeks. My own view is in most cases that when two stories are alike or seem alike they are both of them drawn from the general stuff of folk ideas, rather than the one descended lineally from the other. There are what I believe to be exceptions, and I have discussed them elsewhere: here it will be enough to say that what seems to me to have survived is not so much individual stories, as the general character of the people: in this way I believe the stories of the present day do cast a good deal of light on certain permanencies of the Greek character. I turn to my subject: the recently published collections of Greek folktales.

From the appearance of its first volume in 1913 all readers interested in folktales have been turning for help to the vast mass of material gathered together in Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*; this work with its fourth volume in 1930 and its fifth and final index volume in 1932 has rightly and naturally won for itself such a position that it is easy to forget that no resumptive work of this sort can ever be final. Fresh material must be perpetually appearing, and this has been especially true, in recent years, of Greece, where political troubles and disturbances have given an ever sharper edge to the national consciousness. It must also be noted that when the bibliography in the last volume was printed the great spate of books which marked the period between the two wars had hardly begun: between 1918 and 1932 Bolte and Polivka can give only six titles.

Earlier than Bolte and Polivka the only bibliography seems to have been Gustav Meyer's *Versuch einer Bibliographie der neugriechischen Mundartenforschung*, which appeared in 1894 as the first part of his *Neugriechische Studien.* Though its intention is strictly linguistic, it yet naturally contains a great many references to published texts of folktales, and is particularly valuable for its full use of old and now quite unprocurable periodicals. Recently, however, in 1949, we have had Professor Stith Thompson's fine book, *The Folktale*, although the author is not at his best in dealing with Modern Greek. Further, his book is all the less an adequate guide to the student as he has excluded periodicals from his bibliographical lists, and it so happens that the most important work on our subject has appeared in numerous periodicals, published for the most part at Athens. Indeed the material published, often rather obscurely, in the last thirty or forty years is by now so great that it seems worthwhile to publish, not a full bibliography for which such a paper as this is hardly the place, but at least the titles of some of the more important books now available for a study which throws so much light on the character and ways of thought of the Greek people.

Yet it is only fair to say that some doubts have been thrown on this close connexion of folktales and national character. If the notes in Bolte and Polivka's book are consulted, it will appear that almost all the well-known stories in Grimm's collection are found diffused over more or less the whole of the Old World from India to the furthest west: told, therefore, by people of the most widely contrasted characters. From this Cosquin drew the inference that folktales are of no evidential value for character, the same story occurring in the traditions of the most widely separated peoples.[1] To this objection it may be replied that a distinction must be drawn between the fundamental thread or plot of the story which is the same everywhere, and in fact constitutes its identity, and its manner of treatment and presentation, which may vary almost indefinitely, and it is in these variations that local and national characteristics are to be sought. For, after all, the narrator must always mould his material into a form which will be interesting and acceptable to his audience. This point has been dealt with at some length in a paper I recently published with examples of these local forms of widely spread stories; what Von Sydov has aptly called the ' oikotypes ', the local forms, into which any widely diffused story will quite naturally fall as it conforms itself to national circumstances and tastes.[2]

Let me give an example of a Greek oikotype of this sort. There is a folktale spread over all the Slav world and just reaching the fringes of the Greek area, which may conveniently be called *The Greater Sinner*; it has been studied by N. F. Andrejev under the title of *Die Legende der zwei Erzsündern.*[3] The essence of the story is always that on a penitent sinner is imposed what would seem to be an unending penance: pardon can never be granted to him until a dead branch which he has planted and must assiduously tend and water puts out leaves and blossoms; less often he is set to graze black sheep until they turn white. While he is tending the branch or grazing the sheep, a man comes by and behaves so rudely that the penitent turns and kills him. Then to his astonishment he finds that his seemingly impossible task has been fulfilled: the branch is covered with leaves or the black sheep have turned white. A priest then explains that the man whom he has killed in his rage was so much more grievous a sinner that ridding the earth of him has been accepted as an atonement for all his own offences: killing this one man has wiped out the guilt of all the ninety and nine murders which he had previously committed. The story is in origin Slav; Andrejev holds that it arose in the southern part of this Slav area; probably in Bulgaria. When we ask what was the sin of this greater sinner we at once begin to see the effect on stories of local conditions. In the numerous Slav variants—Andrejev has collected forty—the wicked man has sometimes been a hard landlord, sometimes a tyrannical overseer, sometimes a man who has lived on unjust gains and profits; in one case simply a lawyer. Often he has been a smuggler of tobacco; there are many cases of necrophilic wickedness, in which we may probably see a reflexion of the Slav terror of vampires, the evil bloodsucking dead: the Greek *vrykolakas* who rises from his grave to prey upon the living is certainly by origin a Slav bogy.

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[1] E. Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, I, xxxix.

[2] *Folklore* LIX (1948), 49.

Of this story of *The Greater Sinner* we have two versions from Thrace, into which it seems to have strayed from the Slav area, and the difference in the sin denounced is instructive.[4] In the Russian versions the sin is often something which would seem far worse to the unbusiness-like Slav peasant than it could ever be to the much sharper Greek, who would be apt to feel that no one should allow himself to be the victim of a tyrannical overseer, still less of a cunning lawyer: a man of intelligence should be able to look after himself. Nor would he see so much harm in mere smuggling, and as for necrophily, his central sanity would make such a thing too outlandish to be very seriously considered. No; in our two Greek versions from Thrace the sin is quite different. In one it is the purely social offence of a man who has by slander interfered with what might otherwise have been a happy marriage, and in the other the sinner is a man, who in that dry country, has for the sake of a kind of blackmail cut off the water supply from a village; both of them have by wickedness interfered with the normal course of events in an otherwise well-ordered world. The fundamental story remains the same, the unexpected pardon of the penitent, but in the nature of the Greater Sin we see at once a direct reflexion of the very different Slav and Greek moral and social ideas.

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[3] *Folklore Fellowship Communications*, no. 54, 1924, in Vol. XVI of *Folklore Fellowship Communications.*

[4] Θρακικά XVII, 173, nos. 83, 84.

It appears, therefore, that the more variants we have from our chosen area and from the cultural regions surrounding it, the more clearly we can determine in each case the typical local form of the story; that is arrive at its oikotype. On these points I have enlarged a good deal in a paper recently published in *Folklore*,[5] and I here need say no more except that when I gave in this paper an account of *The Greater Sinner* I was unaware of the Slav origin of the story.

At once we see the possibilities afforded by the large increase in our material in these recent years. It is not merely that not a few entirely fresh stories have been printed—in fact the number of new stories is perhaps less than might have been expected—but we now have at our disposal a vastly greater number of variants of the same story: of few stories less than four or five; of many a dozen or even more variants, and often from all quarters of the Greek world.

On the books in Bolte and Polivka's list only a few remarks are needed. The big island of Mytilene is now well to the fore. In 1906 Anagnóstou produced his Λεσβιακά, with five stories in the dialect, and in the same year Paul Kretschmer published his fine book, *Der heutige lesbische Dialekt*, with twenty-nine stories from the island and one from Skopelos. In 1906 Karl Dieterich, also working for the Balkankommission of Vienna, produced a book on the Dodekanese, *Sprache und Volksüberlieferungen der südlichen Sporaden*, with four stories from Kos, two from Kalymnos and two from Astypalaia: not many in number but all long and important tales. The general quality of the book is much inferior to that of Kretschmer and his central theory, that the dialects and traditions of the Dodekanese form a sort of continuous series with Crete and Cyprus at the extremes, is wholly erroneous, but the stories themselves are good and well recorded; I have little doubt that Jacob Zarraftis, the local scholar from Kos who collected for W. H. D. Rouse the material for *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese* published by the Cambridge Press in 1950, was right when he told me that it was he who recorded these stories and not Dieterich himself.

In 1907 appeared the first volume of the Athenian folklore periodical Λαογραφία, of which the latest volume in my hands is XII; the first parts appeared in 1938, 1939, and the concluding part in 1949: I have reason to believe that the periodical is to continue under the editorship of Professor Stilpon Kyriakidis of the University of Salonika. In it have appeared a great number of stories, very notably a long series from Zakynthos, contributed by Maria Minotou: in Vol. X thirty-one stories, and in Vol. XI another fifty-four. Except that the stories in Bernhard Schmidt's *Neugriechische Märchen* come from the Ionian islands we have no other good collection from this region. They should obviously be examined to see what connexion they may have with the folktales of Italy, perhaps with those from Venice.

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[5] *Folklore* LIX, 49–53.

The only notable book I find missing from Bolte and Polivka's list is the *Contes de Mycono*, by Louis Roussel, published in 1929 at Leopol (Lvoff). It contains eighty-four stories in Greek with a French translation. It seems to have been the author's zest for the demotic which compelled him to print his texts in the Latin alphabet with numerous diacritic signs and to arrange his excellent glossary not in the order of the Greek or even of the Latin alphabet, but in a scientific order more or less that of the Sanscrit alphabet. But those who are baffled by these refinements can always turn to the French translations.

For the books after 1932 some further details may be given. In 1932 Dr. Mikhailidis-Nouaros, himself a Karpathian, produced his Λαογραφικὰ σύμμεικτα Καρπάθου, and in Vol. I prints fourteen tales. In 1943 Constantin Danguitsis published in Paris his *Étude descriptive du dialecte de Démirtési*, a one-time Greek village near Brusa; it contains six tales with French translations. In 1943 the two handsome volumes of Σκῦρος appeared, by Madame Niki Perdika. This is a full account of the island of Skyros, and in the second volume twenty-seven tales are printed; most of them good and all well told. There are no translations, but the excellent glossary is a help towards reading the difficult dialect. In 1946 Hubert Pernot produced at Paris the third volume of his *Études de linguistique néo-hellénique*: he prints fifty-five tales in Latin phonetic letters with a transcription in Greek characters. Valued by Pernot mainly as dialect material, the texts have many of them been transcribed from phonographic records and are sometimes rather confused. From Chios we have also the sixty tales of which English translations are in the first volume of *The Folklore of Chios*, published in 1949 by Dr Philip Argenti and Professor H. J. Rose: they were recorded, I believe, some time before the First World War by a scholarch of Chios, Stylianos Vios. A collection of nineteen tales recorded somewhat earlier by another Chiote, Konstantinos Kanellakis, has not yet been published.

In addition to these books we now have the tales published in the local periodicals which have recently sprung up in such numbers in Greece. Disturbances of the population and above all the removal to Greece of the

Greeks of Asia Minor have notably stimulated local patriotism, so marked a characteristic of the Greeks. Thus for Thrace we have two periodicals, Θρακικά, and ’Αρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ λαογραφικοῦ καὶ γλωσσικοῦ θησαυροῦ, dating from 1928 and 1934. Θρακικά XV, XVI, and XVII contain ninety-three tales recorded by Elpiniki Sarandi, and of the ’Αρχεῖον Vols. V, VI, and IX contain seventeen tales.

Like the rustic language of Cyprus the Pontic dialect of Modern Greek has been for some time used for literary composition. From Cyprus we have a long series of narrative ballads on village happenings, the work of the local bards known in the island as Ποιητάριδες, and Pontic has been used for comedies of contemporary life; printed generally, I believe, at Trebizond, but on account of the Turkish censorship given false imprints of Athens or Batoum. Now since the dispersal the Greeks from Pontos have taken to recording every detail of their old life and they have not neglected their folktales. We have thus four periodicals dealing with Pontic matters: from 1928 ’Αρχεῖον Πόντου, from 1938 Ποντιακὰ Φύλλα, and from 1943 Χρονικὰ τοῦ Πόντου, all of which survived, or have survived, long enough to produce very valuable work. To these three a fourth was added in January 1950: the monthly Ποντιακὴ ‘Εστία. When Gustav Meyer compiled his bibliography in 1894 all the Pontic stories available were only the twenty-four, and some of them very short, printed in the long extinct and now very rare periodical ’Αστὴρ τοῦ Πόντου, of 1884–1886. Further, of unpublished texts there are valuable collections of stories in the archives of the Athens Lexicon: mainly, I believe, recorded by Valavanis at Kerasund and in the neighbouring Greek villages.

These stories, many of them, carry us into a world new to us in the West, yet, owing to the recent and radical change in the life of the Pontic Greeks, historically in process of more or less rapid extinction; people still capable of telling these stories are, we may be sure, all of the older generation. We know the date of their printing, but as a rule not when they were recorded; in any case they are from the lips of people still versed in the art of telling stories and still possessed of a copious store of tales, and thus in every way they present a contrast to the stories from Cappadocia printed in *Modern Greek in Asia Minor.* These are much broken down and for the most part children's stories, the last relics of the tradition, carried on when the stories were recorded in 1908 to 1910 only among the children and no doubt by the older women, in small and rather poor villages, where the language was rapidly giving way, in the more flourishing places to the common Greek of the schools, in the poorer places where there were fewer Christians and more Turks, to the general use of Turkish. The Pontic stories were clearly told by persons skilled in the art, and like many of the stories from Cyprus and the Dodekanese, can claim to be the remains of the Hellenism of Asia Minor to which the first blow was delivered by the advance of the Seljuk Turks, and the final stroke has in these last years been given by the Ottomans. It is very much to be hoped that more of these stories from Pontos have been written down and will be published. The language is admittedly not too easy for a reader equipped only with a knowledge of the common language and with the usual dictionaries, and it is the more welcome that most of the texts published have been provided with short notes and explanations of the harder words, whether Greek or the numerous loan-words from Turkish.

From most points of view the best stories we have are as a whole those from the Dodekanese and these from Pontos: which is, of course, not to say that there are not scattered in other collections, notably perhaps from Skyros and the other islands, many very good and interesting stories. The art of the story-teller, the παραμυθᾶς or παραμυθοῦ, with his methods of narration, his artful descriptions, his often witty dialogues, and his more or less traditional methods of carrying on the thread of the narrative and managing its transitions: all these points are best to be seen in the stories from these two regions. It is here also that we see the tendency of the more or less fantastic folktale to develop into a story, we may even say a novel, of real or at least supposedly possible life. But these considerations I have dwelt on elsewhere, and in any case they would carry me too far.[6] What I have tried to do in this short paper has been to introduce readers interested in the life of the Greeks of the present day to a wide field of study which has in these recent years been so very widely thrown open.

In a recently published article the late A. H. Krappe touched on what is a much neglected although certainly difficult and slippery element in the study of folktales in their relation to national character.[7] This is what he calls the psychological side of folklore; for my present purpose I would limit folklore to folktales. Krappe is aware of the danger of these speculations, but while he bids his readers beware of ‘ the ill-supported and wholly unsound fancies of Freud and his pseudo-science ’, he does call our attention to what he rather cumbrously terms ‘ the psychological processes underlying many of the phenomenal factors of folklore ’. This I take to mean that for a story to have the vitality to last over long periods of time and the adaptability to make itself welcome to peoples of so very various dispositions and ways of thought, it must, beneath its outward dress of fantasy, contain a certain measure of psychological truth. When we are told that a loving father shuts up his only and much loved son in a crystal tower so that the boy can know nothing of the world outside, not even that it exists, we are not being told a through and through absurdity; the storyteller is telling us in his own way of the too jealous and too exclusive love of so many fathers, and that it is as much bound to be frustrated as the boy in the tower is bound by some means or other to escape into the world of men. This view asks us to give only a very slightly expanded translation of a remark I have met in a folktale, Ἀν δὲν ἐγίνοντο, δὲν ἐπαραμυθίζοντο, *If these things had not taken place, they would never have entered into a story*: that is, *If these things had not been in some manner true, they could never have been made the material of a story.* But to reach whatever of certainty we can in this very delicate matter, it is obviously necessary that we should know every story in its best form; know it as it has been widely handed down, and not in any less good variant due to the freakishness or incompetence of any single narrator. And this real popular basis, this national oikotype of a story, can be arrived at only by a study of as many variants as possible. This is the great benefit we may get from the present abundance of material: not merely have a few new stories been added, but the old stories are now presented with the very much greater fulness necessary to their proper study. This is one of the reasons why I have thought it worth while to present this rough guide to the very great resources now open to students of this matter.

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[6] In the introductory matter to my book *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese.*

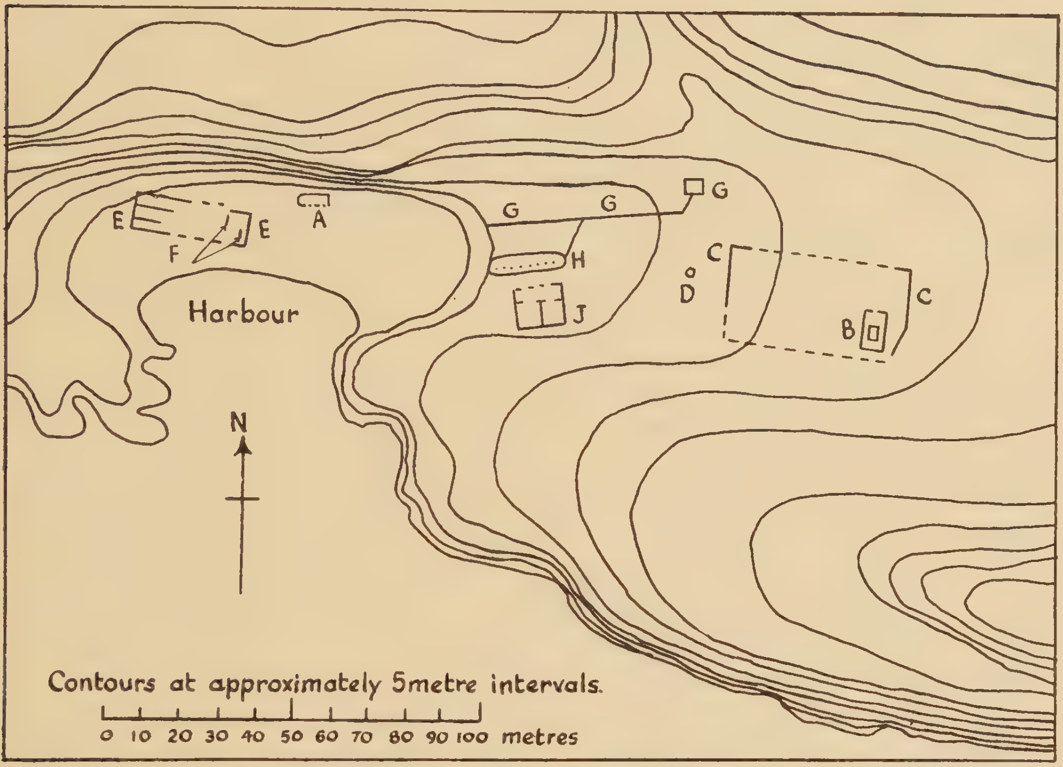
[7] *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend,* edited by Maria Leach, published by Funk and Wagnall Co., New York, 1949, in the article ‘ Folklore and Mythology ’, 407.

It is a futher point that this psychological validity to be found in folktales at their best explains the well known rarity, I myself believe the non-existence, of anything resembling a folktale being composed by any individual man sitting by himself in his study with a pen in his hand. Those who know folktales will easily recognise that Southey's *Three Bears*, sometimes quoted as an example of such a composition, is in fact a quite well known story, incidentally a good deal spoiled. No play of individual fancy can make up for the absence of that common popular feeling which is the indispensable stimulus to the creation of a genuine folktale and the background which alone can infuse it with the spirit of life.

R. M. DAWKINS

THE ORACLE OF HERA AKRAIA AT PERACHORA

The only ancient topographer to mention the Heraion of Perachora calls it an oracle. Strabo's words are: ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου καὶ Παγῶν τὸ τῆς ᾽Ακραίας μαντεῖον ῞Ηρας ὑπῆρχε τὸ παλαιόν.[1] Commenting on this passage Payne says: 'No trace of this aspect of the cult has yet been found'.[2] I suggest that it has been found, though not recognised, and may explain a puzzling feature of the site revealed by the excavation.



G
G
G
E
E
A
F
H
C
C
D
J
B
Harbour
N
Contours at approximately 5metre intervals.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 metres

FIG. 1.—PERACHORA, HERAION (after plan by Piet de Jong, *Perachora* I, pl. 137).

A. Geometric temple. B. Limenia temple. C. Temenos wall. D. Sacred pool. E. Sixth-century temple of Hera Akraia. F. Foundations thought to belong to second temple (Akraia II). G. Fifth-century cistern and drain. H. Hellenistic cistern. J. Hellenistic house.

Below the temenos of Hera Limenia, between it and the harbour and temple of Hera Akraia, was in the archaic period a small pool, in which were found some two hundred bronze phialai.[3] Payne suggested that the waters of the pool were used for purification before entering the temenos; and, in discussing the reason why the phialai were thrown into the pool, I suggested that its waters may have been drawn to pour libations.[4] I wish now to suggest another possible explanation: that the pool and the phialai were used for divination and that the pool constituted the μαντεῖον.

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[1] Strabo 380.

[2] *Perachora* I 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, 120–1.

This of course cannot be demonstrated. It is no more than a conjecture, and before it can be received it is necessary to demonstrate two points: that the pool might have been an oracle, and that it might be the oracle of Hera Akraia. To take the second point first: the pool is nearer to the temenos of Hera Limenia, at the seaward entrance to which it lies, than to the temple of Akraia, and is associated closely with the Limenia temple.[5] But I believe that the temple called that of Hera Limenia, because dedications to the goddess with that epithet were found there,[6] was during the first two centuries of the pool's existence the only temple of Hera on the site. This assumption allows the building-history to be simplified. The first, geometric, temple was destroyed in the middle of the eighth century, its latest offerings being contemporary with the earliest from the Limenia temple up the hill. It looks as if the latter replaced the geometric temple. Payne supposed that the geometric temple was succeeded by a second temple in the harbour area, of which a few blocks only remain.[7] These blocks may belong rather to some secular building, a shelter or store-room, or to a subsidiary *sacellum*, and the second temple of Akraia may be that up the hill, the so-called Limenia temple. The site by the harbour was too narrow to build on except in one of two ways, either by building a very small temple (the geometric temple) or by quarrying back in order to get space for a larger building, as was done for the third temple, built in the third quarter of the sixth century. The second temple may, then, have been built up the hill in the eighth century, because the site was more manageable. It was still closely associated with the harbour; hence the name Limenia by which the goddess was addressed. This may, however, have been not her official title, but a by-name based on an important function.[8] The third temple, guaranteed as that of Akraia by the inscriptions with that title found in its neighbourhood,[9] returned to the harbour area. How long the second temple stood we do not know, but it appears to have continued to stand after the building of the third temple. Payne says that ‘ the votive deposit shows that the temple stood at least until the late fifth century ’.[10] Fifth-century building in the western part of the temenos may have been undertaken after the temple had fallen into ruin; this fifth-century work included a cistern and drain which replaced the pool.[11] So the temple and the pool seem to have been constructed at the same period [12] and to have gone out of use together.

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[4] *Perachora* I 152 f.

[5] See below p. 63.

[6] Bronze bull dedicated by Naumachos, with inscription in Sicyonian letters, *Perachora* I 136, pl. 43, 5–7. Inscribed sherds of the sixth century, to be published by Miss L. H. Jeffery in *Perachora* II.

[7] *Perachora* I 82 ff.

[8] A number of parallels for the title Limenia or a form of similar meaning are quoted in *Perachora* I 110 and *RE* XIII 570 f. But only Hera Epilimenia at Thasos and Aphrodite Limenia at Hermione are well established as cult titles; the others are of poetical use or very late. It used to be believed that the temple, one column of which stands near the town of Aegina, was dedicated to Aphrodite Epilimenia, but Welter has shown that this was not so (*AA* 1938, 489). In the inscription at Delos mentioning Hera ἐν λιμένι (*Perachora* I 110, n. 2; see Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne* 397, no. XVII) the attributive phrase has purely local significance.

[9] Fifth-century marble bowl and two fourth-century sherds: *Perachora* I, pl. 27, 2; 29, 1–2; 131, 1–2; pp. 78, 98.

This simplification of the building-history, eliminating the hypothetical Akraia II by the harbour, may explain the poverty of dedications from the harbour area between the geometric period and the late sixth century.[13] This will be because the objects found there were dropped by accident or were offered at a subsidiary shrine, while the important offerings went up the hill. Certainly, the Limenia temple is the centre of the cult between the third quarter of the eighth and the third quarter of the sixth century. The title Akraia is not witnessed during this period (the earliest recorded use of it belongs to the fifth century),[14] but as it was brought from Argos,[15] it must have been the cult-title from the foundation of the sanctuary in the geometric period. It should follow that the main temple of the site during the archaic period—the temple which immediately succeeded the geometric temple founded from Argos—was dedicated to Hera Akraia; though the offerings which name the goddess call her Limenia.[16] The sacred pool is closely associated with the Limenia temple; but, if the reasoning above is sound, the dedications naming Limenia do not exclude the possibility that the temple and the pool were sacred to Hera Akraia.

The points about the sacred pool which require explanation are, why was this artificial reservoir made? and, why were so many phialai thrown into it? Both questions can be answered if this is the site of the oracle; though this is not of course the only possible explanation. The use of water in divination is well known.[18] The most famous example is in the oracle of Apollo at Klaros, where the priest was inspired by drinking from a sacred spring.[19] At Hysiai in Boeotia also there was a sacred well (φρέαρ) from which people drank and then divined.[20] We are not told that a specific shape of cup was postulated. At other sacred springs or wells the omens were taken in a different way, from the sinking or floating of objects thrown in. Such is the pool of Ino at Epidauros Limera, where barley-cakes were thrown in, and if they were swallowed down the omens were favourable.[21] Such also is the oracle of the Palici in Sicily, where a tablet was thrown into the pool; if it floated, the words written on it were true, if not true, the

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[10] *Perachora* I 113.

[11] *Ibid.*, 121.

[12] *Ibid.*, 120.

[13] *Ibid.*, 92 f.

[14] See n. 9. The name is used by Strabo in the passage quoted, and by Livy, XXXII 23; also by Euripides, if the passage in the *Medea* (1378 ff.) should indeed refer to Perachora rather than to Corinth, as Payne has shown good reason to believe (*Perachora* I 19 f.; *cf.* R. L. Scranton, *Corinth* I ii, 131 ff., esp. 159 ff.; D. L. Page, *Euripides' Medea*, xxviii).

[15] See *Perachora* I 22; *JHS* 1948, 63 f.

[16] Alternative titles in private dedications are not unusual. To give only a few examples: Artemis Orthia at Sparta had the by-name Limnaia or Limnatis, derived from the location of her sanctuary (*Artemis Orthia*, 400; *RE* III A, 1470). Archaic dedications on the Acropolis call Athena alternatively Pallas or, from her function, *polioukhos* (Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis*, Index, 527; *polioukhos*, nos. 3, 53, 233). At Perachora, on the stone bases found inside the Limenia temple, Hera is addressed as Leukolenos, which is not a cult title (*Perachora* I 258, 263).

[18] M. Ninck, *Die Deutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alter* (*Philologus* Suppl. XIV 2), 47 ff.; W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, 116 ff.

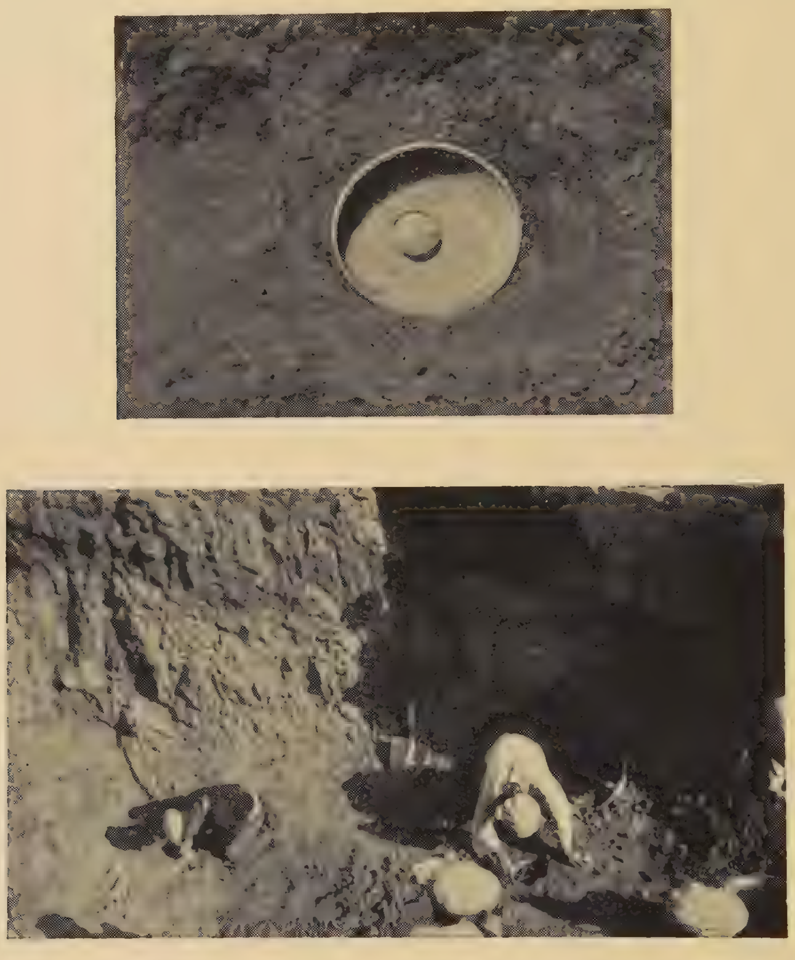

FIG. 2.—PHIALAI AS FOUND IN THE MUD AT THE BOTTOM OF THE POOL AT PERACHORA.

[19] Tac. *Ann.* II 54; Plin. *NH* II 103, 232.

[20] Paus. IX 2, 1.

[21] Paus. III 23, 8.

tablet sank.[22] There are other examples in countries of the Near East.[23] This is a very simple way of drawing omens, and has in it something akin to an ordeal.[24] Its possible application at Perachora is obvious, for while the other objects found in the sacred pool may have been washed into it by the rains or dropped in by accident, the bronze phialai were certainly thrown into it.[25] The phiale would, pragmatically, be a very suitable vessel for taking omens in this way, for with its broad flat shape it would have a fair chance of floating when thrown in. This is not, however, sufficient reason why so many phialai were found in the pool, and further explanation must be sought in the known uses of the phiale.

Lecanomancy, the taking of omens by observation of the movement of drops of oil on water in a bowl, is a science of Babylonian origin.[26] It is described in the magical papyri of late antiquity, in some of which the phiale is named as the vessel of lecanomancy, and the word φιαλομαντεία appears.[27] Josephus distinguishes μαντεῖαι παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν into ἡ διὰ λεκάνης and ἡ ἐν φιάλῃ,[28] but it is not clear in what the distinction lay. Greek instances in classical times are not certain, but a few texts and monuments have been interpreted in that sense. None of these is uncontroversial, as may perhaps be expected from the very nature of the case, for neither the poets nor the artists of classical Greece were concerned to portray clearly such obscure magical rites.

The first is the picture inside the cup Berlin 2538,[29] in which Themis, sitting on the Tripod and holding a phiale, is consulted by Aigeus.[30] This scene has been interpreted as one of lecanomancy,[31] but other interpretations are possible. Hauser [32] thought that Themis is about to drink the water of the Castalian spring, the source of inspiration.[33] But it should be noted that she does not hold the phiale as if raising it to her lips, but holds it steady with her hand beneath it. Further, it is doubtful whether it was an original part of the procedure at Delphi, as at Klaros and elsewhere, to drink the water of the sacred spring.[34] Holland holds that Themis is about to pour a libation before giving the oracle.[35] Sir John Beazley suggests to me that Themis is sprinkling or about to sprinkle water from the phiale with the laurel branch in her right hand, thus purifying Aigeus before his entry into the temple and enquiry of the oracle, and quotes many other vases on which holy water is sprinkled in this way from a phiale.[36] But the intent look which Themis bends on the phiale [37] is not then fully explained. Delatte,[38] while agreeing that Themis is giving the oracle from the phiale, holds that she is not reading the omens in a full bowl, but is using the empty phiale as a mirror in which to see the future. This is unlikely, as the embossed concave surface of the phiale, which appears to be of the type of *Perachora* I, pl. 56, 1,[39] would not well reflect light.

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[22] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Παλική'; ps.-Arist. *de mir. ausc.* 57; *cf.* Freeman, *History of Sicily* I 517 ff. The reference to the craters of Etna in Paus. III 23, 9, is no doubt a confused account of the lakes or craters (as they are called by Diod. XI 89 and other sources) of the Palici.

[23] The ὕδωρ Στύγιον of Dia in Arabia (Damascius, *Vita Isidori* 199; *cf.* Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, II 114); spring of Aphrodite at Aphaka in Lebanon (Zosim. I 58).

Similar offerings are made to springs at Lilaia (Paus. X 8, 10) and Aigion (Paus. VII 24, 3) without any divinatory powers being vouched for. It may be that here this aspect of the cult of the waters has faded. Another case is the healing spring of the Amphiareion at Oropos (Paus. I 34, 4), where coins were thrown in by those healed in consequence of an oracle. Here it may be that originally the throwing in of coins or other precious objects constituted the consultation of the oracle: *cf.* Halliday, *Greek Divination*, 135 ff.

[24] Especially in the case of the lakes of the Palici and the spring of Zeus Horkios at Tyana (Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* I 6), used to detect false oaths. Compare the use of springs as tests of virginity: Achill. Tat. VIII 12, 8; Eustr. phil. VIII 7, 2; XI 17, 5; *cf.* Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, 116.

Many of these instances belong to Semitic lands, and it may be worth while to record that an attempt has been made to derive the Palici from a Phoenician origin (I. Lévy, *RA* XXXIV (1899), 256 ff.; *cf.* R. Marcus and I. J. Gelb, *JNES* VII (1948), 196, discussing the Karatepe inscription). I am not competent to discuss the philological equation on which this rests.

[25] *Perachora* I 120 f.

[26] See Ganszniec, *RE* XII 1879 ff., *s.v.* 'λεκανομαντεία'; Hopfner, *op. cit.*, II 114 ff.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* II 749 ff.; Delatte, *La catoptromancie grecque*, 8 ff., 147 ff.; Halliday, *Greek Divination*, 145 ff.

[27] *Pap. Gr. Mag.* (ed. Preisedanz) I, IV 3210 ff. (*cf.* Ganszniec, *RE* XII 1883). That the phiale of the ancients is the vessel which archaeologists know by that name is shown by F. Luschey, *Die Phiale*, 10 ff. and Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, 29 f. For the word φιαλομαντεία see *LS.*^{9}

[28] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* CVI 160 (*ap.* Ganszniec, *op. cit.*, 1885).

[29] *FR* pl. 140; Beazley, *ARV* 739, no. 5 (Codrus Painter, *c.* 440 B.C.). Found at Vulci.

[30] For Gaia-Themis as giver of oracles see Farnell, *Cults* III 8 ff. But see M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* I 159.

[31] *E.g.*, by Miss P. M. Mudie-Cooke, *JRS* III 169; Cook, *Zeus* II 206.

Very little later than the painting of the Themis cup, Aristophanes perhaps parodied the practice of lecanomancy in *Acharnians* 1128 ff.[40] Other possible references [41] and illustrations [42] are too uncertain to bear much weight. The earliest clear references are in the Roman period.[43] But it has, I hope, been shown that there is at least a case for the view that lecanomancy was known and practised in Greece in the fifth century, and that the phiale was its proper vessel.

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[32] *FR* III 110.

[33] *Cf.* Paus. X 24, 7 (Kassotis, not Castalia); Lucian, *Hermot.* 801; cf. *Iup. Trag.* 675; *Diss. cum Hes.* 246. On the Delphic springs, Kassotis and others, see Ninck, *op. cit.*, 84 ff.

[34] See Parke, *History of the Delphic Oracle*, 26 f., who holds that the draught of the Castalian waters is a late, syncretistic addition to the procedure, not vouched for earlier than Lucian. *Contra*, Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* I, 156; *Histoire générale des religions*: *Grèce, Rome*, 205; *cf.* L. B. Holland, *AJA* 1933, 210. The contrast of the Delphic procedure with the Klarian where the priest drinks the water is clearly made by Iamblichus, *de myst.*, III 11.

[35] *Loc. cit.*, n. 34 above.

[36] *E.g.*, amphora by Syleus Painter in Kansas City, *ARV* 164 no. 1, Athena and warriors setting out; Italiote krater, London F 166, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1847, pl. X, Apollo purifying Orestes. *Cf.* further P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, 35 f.

[37] For which see E. Bielefeld, *Archäologische Vermutungen*, 5.

[38] *Op. cit.*, 185 f.

[39] Tongue-pattern phiale; Luschey, *Die Phiale*, 76 ff.; *cf.* 87, n. 503.

[40] For this passage see Delatte, *op. cit.*, 133 ff. He explains it as catoptromancy, not lecanomancy. The scholiast, while interpreting the passage as an instance of divination, has confused catoptromancy and lecanomancy, or rather, has put two interpretations side by side; either the oil is poured on to the outside of the shield to polish it for use as a mirror, or it is poured into the hollow of the shield to take the omens from its behaviour. The latter practice is referred to in the words εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἳ ἐν ἐλαίῳ ὁρῶντες μαντεύονται. The common figure of speech which compared a shield to a phiale (Arist. *Rhet.* 1412^{b} 35; *Poet.* 1457^{b} 20; *cf.* the confusion in Paus. V 10, 4) may give point to the passage in the *Acharnians*, if the shield is indeed being used for divination in the way in which Themis' phiale appears to be on the cup in Berlin. Lamachus' phrase ἐν τῷ χαλκίῳ ἐνορῶ—'I see in the bowl'—may favour the view that he is looking into the inside, not the outside, of the shield. But the point cannot be determined with certainty, nor is it certain that there is any reference to divinatory rites.

[41] L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 301, finds another reference in Aesch. *Ag.* 322. This is unconvincing, as Aeschylus speaks of oil and vinegar, not oil and water; it is, as Professor Fraenkel points out, to be taken as a domestic metaphor.

[42] Apulian pelike, Naples 3231, *AZ* 1869, pl. 17; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I, pl. 12, from Ruvo; where the group of Aphrodite and Eros is so interpreted by Cook, *op. cit.* 128: 'Aphrodite . . . is unconcernedly holding a phiale to serve as a divining-glass for Eros'; Delatte, *op. cit.*, 186, rightly reserves judgement on this interpretation. Pompeii, Villa Item, scene in which a young satyr looks into a tilted cup: see Mudie Cooke, *JRS* III 167 ff. and pl. XI. For objections to this interpretation see Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, 146 ff. Rome, House of Livia: see G. Perrot, *RA* 1870–1, 193 ff., pl. XXI.

[43] Varro *ap.* Augustin. *de Civ. Dei* VII 35; Apul. *Apol.* 42; Strabo 762.

M. Delatte, in his important work on catoptromancy, the reading of the future in a mirror, points out that it is very different from lecanomancy, with which we are here concerned. Catoptromancy is not, like lecanomancy, a pseudo-science which proceeds by interpreting visible signs as omens, but is hallucinatory, the unknown being in some manner shown in the mirror or surface which serves as a mirror. As has been seen, he interprets both the picture inside the Themis cup and the passage in the *Acharnians* as catoptromancy, not lecanomancy, and holds that the latter is not known in the Greco-Roman world earlier than the first century B.C., and is then borrowed from the East, whereas catoptromancy is of native Greek growth. The two practices were, however, assimilated to one another in late antiquity, and both appear in origin to have been associated with water.[44] In one case it is possible to observe the development of catoptromancy from a well-oracle. At Patrai there was an oracle of Demeter, where a mirror was let down into a sacred well, and omens drawn from the reflections in the mirror from the water.[45] This is half-way to catoptromancy; and it is therefore interesting to observe that the mirror appears to be an addition to the procedure, as Pausanias observes when he compares it with the divinatory spring of Apollo Thyrxeus at Kyaneai in Lycia, where the omens were drawn directly from the movement of the waters without the intervention of a mirror.[46] The earlier stage may be paralleled at Cape Tainaron, where those who looked into the water of a spring saw the sea and the ships on it.[47] It has been suggested that the Demeter associated with the spring at Patrai was represented holding a cup,[48] like the Demeter ποτηριοφόρος at the neighbouring Antheia.[49] So perhaps divination by mirror here succeeded a divination in which the waters of the sacred spring were poured into or from a cup.

In both Babylonian and Greek lecanomantic texts the importance of pure water is stressed. This may be rain water, river water, spring water, sea water, or more generally μαντικὸν ὕδωρ.[50] One text requires rain water for the heavenly gods.[51] At Perachora, there was neither river nor spring water, and any water needed for the cult had to be rain water caught and stored.[52] If then (to anticipate an historical conclusion) a form of divination which required water was introduced at about the time when the Temple of Hera Limenia was built, this water could be provided in no other way than by digging out a catch-pit.[53] No water could be more holy than that which has fallen on the temenos itself, and this may explain the location of the sacred pool, immediately below the temenos where its waters would naturally collect. The pool had filled by the end of the fifth century,[54] but was then replaced by a stone catch-pit; and in the fourth or third century a fine stone-lined cistern, with central piers to carry the roof and steps down into the water, was built a little lower down the hill. Beside this cistern is a house whose main feature is a number of stone benches built against the walls.[55] Is it too much to believe that the house like the similar one by the fountain of Lerna at Corinth [56] was associated with the cistern, and that both carried on that side of the cult which had been served by the much simpler archaic pool in the same area? If so, their purpose is perhaps more likely to have been for the oracle and the reception of its consultants than for simply purificatory rites; especially as, the main temple being now by the harbour and not in the upper part of the site, the cistern did not lie at the entrance of the temenos, as the pool had.

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[44] *Cf.* Halliday, *Greek Divination*, 145.

[45] Paus. VII 21, 12; see Delatte, *op. cit.*, 135 ff. The ritual is parodied by Lucian, *VH* I 26. For a modern parallel at Andros see Delatte, 111; compare also the sacred well of the church of St. George at Amorgos, described by Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, 332 ff. Delatte also quotes parallels in medieval manuscripts for the combination of mirror and spring or vessel of water (*op. cit.*, 167 ff.). The sacred spring at Patras, it is interesting to note, is still venerated and regarded as healing; S. Andreas has succeeded Demeter (see Herbillon, *Les cultes de Patras*, 24, 28).

[46] Paus., *loc. cit.*

[47] Paus. III 25, 8.

[48] Herbillon, *op. cit.*, 36–7.

[49] Athen. XI 460 *d*; *cf.* Cook, *Zeus* I 228, n. 1, who compares a number of Attic and Italiote vases on which Demeter fills a phiale from which Triptolemos will pour a libation before setting out on his journey (*ibid.*, 217 ff.).

[50] Psellus *de daem.* 6 (*Patr. Gr.* CXXII 881; *cf.* Ganszniec, *op. cit.*, 1884).

[51] *Pap.Gr.Mag.* I, IV 226 (*cf.* Ganszniec, *op. cit.*, 1882).

There are many instances in which a phiale is thrown into water (generally the sea) on setting out for a journey or beginning some other important undertaking. The most celebrated is when Xerxes, on crossing the Hellespont, poured a libation from a golden phiale which after praying he threw into the Hellespont.[57] Herodotos, who relates this, is uncertain whether Xerxes was sacrificing to the Sun or to the Hellespont; from the fact that Xerxes poured his libation at sunrise, facing the sun, we may suspect that he was taking the omens in the old Babylonian ritual.[58] His example was followed by Alexander at the Hellespont and, at a crucial moment of his career, at the mouth of the Indus before the return from India.[59] Other travellers pour libations from phialai on setting out on journeys, but without so far as we know throwing their phialai into the sea; for instance, Triptolemos, on many vases; [60] Oinomaos, before his race with Pelops; [61] Mopsos, who pours a libation to Zeus from a golden phiale as Argo sets forth from Iolkos.[62]

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[52] Cf. *Perachora* I 3.

[53] Sea water is used if the question is put to the gods of earth (see papyrus quoted in n. 51). There was plenty of this at Perachora, but as the goddess of the shrine is not a god of earth, sea water would not be suitable for her.

[54] *Perachora* I 120–1.

[55] House and cistern visible in the foreground of *Perachora* I pl. 4*a*.

[56] See refs. in *Perachora* I 14, n. 3.

[57] Herod. VII 54, 2.

[58] *Cf.* Ganszniec, *RE* XII 1880. For Persian 'magi' as λεκανομάντεις see Strabo 762.

[59] Arrian *Anab.* I 11, 6; VI 19, 5.

[60] *Cf.* Cook, *Zeus* I 217 ff. and n. 49 above. A good instance, not included by Cook: the kotyle by Makron, London E 140 (*FR* pl. 161; Beazley, *ARV* 301, no. 3).

[61] Cook, *Zeus* I 36 ff. In one of these (Apulian krater, London, Soane Museum, *Zeus* I pl. 5) Oinomaos pours a libation before his sacrifice; *cf.* Plut. *de def. orac.* 435*c* for libations poured over a

Similar, though involving a cup not a phiale, is a ceremony of sailors out from Syracuse.[63] They filled a clay cup with flowers and honey and spice, dedicated it at an altar on the extreme point of Ortygia,[64] and threw it into the sea when they lost sight of the shield on the temple of Athena on the highest point of Ortygia. It may be that, as well as an offering, this was also a method of divination, omens being drawn from the fall of the cup.

Perhaps the ceremony at Syracuse had its counterpart at Perachora. The situation of the altar at the extreme point of Ortygia corresponds to that of the sanctuary of Hera Akraia at the last point of Corinthian land. The importance of Perachora begins with the western voyages of the Corinthians, and was in early times bound up with the overseas trade of Corinth.[65] Many a ship westward bound must have waited in the little harbour for a fair wind to carry it down the Gulf of Corinth. The ship's master, waiting for a wind, would climb the hill to the new temple. This temple's connexion with the harbour, and hence with sailors, shipowners, and merchants, is shown by the title Limenia used in addressing the goddess; whether this was the cult-title under which the temple was dedicated or an unofficial form of address is immaterial. Just before he entered the precinct, he came to the sacred pool. Into it he threw a phiale. If the object were only to pour a libation on entering the sanctuary, or to draw the water for purification, why throw the phiale in? It may be that from the fall of the vase into the water the omens were drawn; if it was swallowed down, the offering was accepted and a good voyage might be expected; if it floated, it would presage ill. This, I suggest, was the μαντεῖον of Hera.

Other travellers' oracles are known, in the late literature of magic;[66] and there was one at Tainaron, silent in Pausanias' time, which was also a water-oracle, though consulted in a different way.[67] Tainaron, like Perachora, was a point vital for westward sailors.[68] The success of a long sea-voyage, and even the chances of returning alive, are obviously among the most urgent subjects on which early Greeks, and particularly Corinthians, could consult an oracle. It may be that the ceremony which I have just reconstructed at Perachora, and the ceremony at Syracuse recorded by

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sacrificial animal, and an augury drawn from its behaviour whether to proceed to consult the oracle. So in Babylonian divination, sacrifice and lecanomancy may be part of the same consultation, omens being drawn both from the behaviour of the oil in the bowl and from the *exta* of the sacrificed animal (see Ganszniec, *RE* XII 1880).

[62] Pind. *Pyth.* IV 193.

[63] Polemon *ap.* Athen. XI 462 *b*.

[64] It is not known whose this altar was. Schubring, *Achradina*, 40 f.; *Bewässerung von Syrakus*, 628, suggests Zeus Ourios; Holm, *Topografia di Siracusa*, 186, suggests Hera Olympia. These are guesses: and Hera Olympia is not known nor clearly referred to in the text of Athenaeus (see Freeman, *History of Sicily*, II 441 ff.).

[65] *Cf.* Payne, *Perachora* I 25.

[66] See Delatte, *op. cit.*, 167 f., and texts there quoted; ps.-Callisth. *Vit. Alex.* 1, 1.

[67] Paus. III 25, 8; see above p. 67.

[68] For the connexion of Tainaron with the West *cf.* its occurrence in the story of Arion (Herod. I 24) and the statue there of a rider on a dolphin, which recalls the famous group on the coins of Taras.

Polemon, were not solely private, but may have taken place once a year, with especial ceremony, at the opening of the sailing season. An annual ceremony could explain the fact that there are some two hundred phialai in the pool at Perachora, which can have been in use for not much longer than two hundred years.[69]

I am aware that this is a tissue of conjecture, on matters not susceptible of proof, and not supported by direct evidence; for on this oracle, as on other matters connected with their cults, the Corinthians were silent. I offer it here, rather than in the official publication of the site, in the attempt to elucidate some puzzling features revealed by the excavation. There is one last question which calls for an answer, though the answer, like what has gone before, can be given with no assurance of certainty. Hera is not an oracular goddess anywhere except at Perachora.[70] Why should she be so here? Either she has taken over some cult older than her own—and there is no sign that the site of the Heraion was sacred before the cult of Hera was introduced [71]—or an alien element has been added to her. This must have happened long before the Christian era, for Strabo described the oracle as silent in his time; it will therefore not be a syncretistic practice of the Greco-Roman period. The most likely time for it is the period of greatest activity in the sanctuary, the orientalising period. It may have been at the beginning of that period, when Corinthians first began to voyage west to Syracuse and east to Syria,[72] when they came into contact for the first time with Eastern religion. Divination by the cup spread from Babylonia to Egypt.[73] It is not otherwise known in Greece until the fifth century, not certainly until the first century B.C. But the very word λεκάνη given to the cup used in divination is thought to be of Babylonian derivation.[74] No good Greek derivation has been found for the word φιάλη; perhaps it also is oriental, like the object itself? [75] The phiale comes to Greece from the Orient in the early seventh century. The immediate predecessors of the Greek forms, as Luschey has shown, are Assyrian.[76] It is always more used by, or in the service of, gods than men, though it makes its appearance often enough at human banquets; its commonest use, however, is for libations.[77] I have suggested that in some of the pictures or texts where we can see superficially no more than a libation, there may in fact be a hidden or misunderstood case of divination. Perhaps we have at Perachora the very point of entry of the phiale into Greece; it was brought as part of the mechanism of divination, but the strict Mesopotamian rules of interpreting the omens were not understood, and the Corinthians instead took the omens in a very much simpler manner by throwing the phiale into the sacred water to see if it was accepted or rejected. Asiatic elements in the religion of Corinth have already been observed or suspected, particularly in the ritual of Hera Akraia at Corinth.[78] This may be another element.

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[69] We do not know how often the pool was cleaned out, but not very often or thoroughly, for many seventh-century objects were found in the mud of its bottom.

[70] *Cf.* Farnell, *Cults* I 193. I have let the statement in the text stand; but there is some evidence that Hera was an oracular goddess at Cumae in Italy; see the text quoted by A. Maiuri in *Ausonia* VI (1912), 1 ff., and read by him as Ἥρη οὐκ ἐᾶ(ι) ἦρι μαντεύεσθαι. He compares the appearance of Iuno Regina in the Sibylline cult at Rome, derived from Cumae. *Cf.* also the ordeal of virginity associated with the cult of Iuno Sospita at Lanuvium or Lavinum (Prop. IV 8, 3 ff.; Aelian, *NA* XI 16); for the connexion of ordeal and divination see n. 24; for the relation of the cult of Iuno at Lanuvium to that of Hera Argeia near Poseidonia, which in turn is related to that of Hera Akraia at Argos and Perachora, see J. Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine*, 375.

[71] *Perachora* I 20 f.

[72] *Cf.* Sydney Smith, *AJ* 1942, 99, for Corinthians at Posideion (Al Mina); *JHS* 1948, 66.

[73] *Gen.* xliv, 5.

[74] Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, 116, n. 1; LS^9 *s.v.* The word is as old as Aristophanes; and in *MetrMusStud* IV 18, Mrs. A. D. Ure argues that the sixth-century vase in the form of a shallow bowl, conventionally called *lekane*, was known by that name in antiquity and may have been the vessel of lecanomancy.

[75] The word is Homeric (*Il.* XXIII 243, 253, 270), but this does not exclude an oriental derivation, for I take it that parts at least of the *Iliad* are contemporary with the earliest appearance of orientalising elements in Greek culture. The Homeric phiale is a different vessel from the classical; that is to say, the word reached Greece before the thing.

T. J. Dunbabin

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[76] Luschey, *Die Phiale*, 31 ff.

[77] Cf. *Perachora* I 152 f.; Luschey, *RE* Suppl. VII 1027 ff. (where its use in divination is not included among the uses of the phiale listed).

[78] Farnell, *Cults* I 201 ff.; E. Maass, *Griechen und Semiten auf der Isthmus von Korinth*; *cf.* Wade-Gery, *CAH* II 538.

FURTHER EVIDENCE REGARDING THE BRONZE ATHENA AT BYZANTIUM

(PLATE II)

Professor Wace's brilliant services to archaeology have been diffused over so wide a field that it is not difficult to cite some notable work of his in connexion with almost anything that one may oneself offer to his *Festschrift*. As I wish to write of a famous fifth-century bronze statue, I may gratefully remember his illuminating article on the Chatsworth head, printed in *JHS* LVIII (1938), 90–95.

In *JHS* LXVII (1949), 31–33 and pl. X, I drew attention to an eleventh-century Byzantine miniature in a manuscript which, as Mr. T. C. Skeat has since kindly informed me, is no longer in existence. In the miniature appeared the representation of a statue of Athena, standing on a column; and I suggested that this statue had many features in common with what we know of the great bronze Athena of Byzantium, described by Nicetas Choniata, which may have been the so-called 'Promachos' of Pheidias. Without re-opening the question of whether the Pheidian and Byzantine Athenas were identical, I wish only to point out in this article that additional evidence about the latter may be supplied by another Byzantine miniature, this time of the tenth century, which is illustrated in FIG. below and PLATE II.

This miniature, painted in the neo-Hellenistic style of the tenth-century Byzantine renaissance, illustrates a passage in a splendid manuscript of Oppian's *Cynegetica*, which is now in the Marcian Library at Venice.[1] The picture has been twice reproduced and described by Diehl.[2] But I here reproduce from a new photograph,[3] and venture to amplify and amend Diehl's description, which is, in one important particular, inaccurate.

The verses illustrated [4] extol the power of Eros over all things, even over the gods. On the left of the picture, Eros (labelled above ὁ ἔρως) flies to right, and menaces with extended bow a group of gods; these are, Athena, a bearded god, a beardless god, and Hermes, who is identifiable by his winged calves, although he has a pair of goat's horns on his head and a spear in his right hand. In the centre, in front of a building which presumably represents the hall of Olympus, a winged satyr or Pan approaches Artemis, who chastely waves him by. Artemis, the moon-goddess and huntress, is furnished with a very Christian-looking halo about her head and an arrow in her right hand. To right again is depicted a scene on a higher level and smaller scale; it is obviously set in a different plane and in quite un-Olympian surroundings. Beneath a window, from which a girl is looking with an expression of dismay, two men are struggling; the left-hand figure has his antagonist by the throat, and is about to dash out his brains with a loaded club. Above the fray, the bust of Zeus, who wears the Byzantine imperial *modiolus*, protrudes from a cloud and threatens to pulverise the murderer with his thunder-bolt. An inscription between the two struggling figures reads ἐρ⟨*caret*⟩τες. Diehl, who regarded the two figures as gods, read this as Ἑρμῆς, and mistook the assailant's bludgeon for a *caduceus*.[5] But in fact, as is clear from their contemporary

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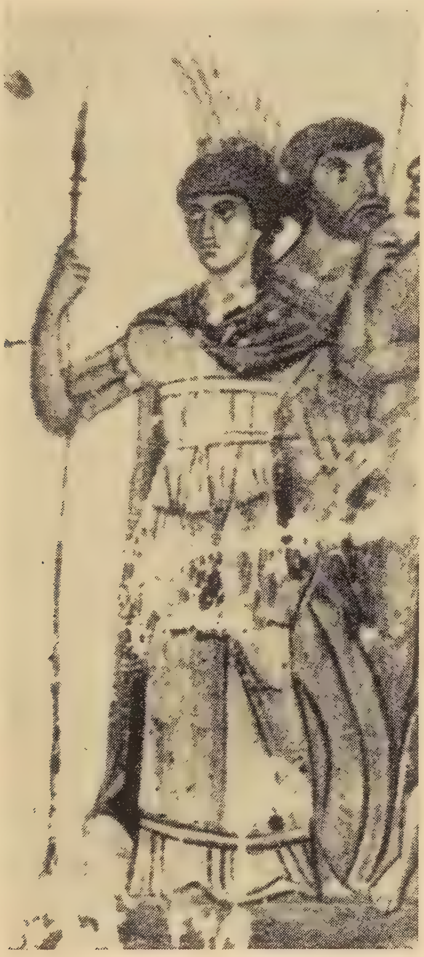
[1] Ms. graecus 479, f. 33^r; *cf.* P. Boudreaux, *Oppien d'Apamée, La Chasse* (Paris, 1908), 25

[2] *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, II (Paris, 1926), 602–604, fig. 284; *La Peinture Byzantine* (Paris, 1933), 93, pl. LXXX.

[3] I am indebted to the courtesy of the Marcian Librarian for procuring me this photograph.

[4] II 410 ff.



[*Foto-Fiorentini, Venice*

DETAIL FROM A XTH CENTURY
BYZANTINE MS.

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[5] *La Peinture Byzantine, loc. cit.*

dress and smaller scale, the brawlers are human: all too human, indeed, as they are fighting for love of the onlooking lady. I should therefore suppose that ἐρ/τες is an abbreviation of ἐρωμανέοντες, a word which, in this form, is almost a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, but which actually occurs in this very poem of Oppian.[6]

None of the gods, so far as they can be seen, presents a purely classical type. Athena, with whom we are here concerned, though equipped with an Attic helmet, a shield, and a lance, which derive from the classical Greek panoply, wears a *sagum* or *paludamentum* and a corselet which, with its shoulder-pieces, has more in common with the Romano-Byzantine *lorica* than with the fifth-century Greek σπολάς.[7] It is indeed improbable that the bronze Athena described by Nicetas wore a corselet at all: he does not mention it, though he mentions *aegis* and *gorgoneion*, which are absent in our picture.[8] So far, then, as external attributes go, the *Physiologus* miniature would appear to reproduce more accurately the classical Greek type.

On the other hand, our tenth-century figure, owing to its larger scale and more careful drawing, gives a much clearer idea of the *pose* of the statue described by Nicetas. We note first the upraised fore-finger of the hand which holds the lance, the fore-finger with which the benighted rabble of Byzantium supposed her to be beckoning to the Crusaders.[9] Next, the head turns in the direction of the outstretched arm. Then, the left hand is very clearly seen resting on the upper rim of the upright shield;[10] and it is easy to understand how, if the shield had disappeared in Nicetas's day, he might have supposed this hand to be holding up the drapery.[11] Lastly, the only substantial difference in pose between the figures of the two miniatures is that the tenth-century figure rests the weight on her right leg, and there is reason to think that this is truer to the Pheidian pose.[12]

I believe that the same bronze statue inspired the description of Nicetas and, more or less directly, both the miniatures, which supplement one another. The tenth-century artist has given his Athena the general attributes of war, just as he has given his Artemis the general attributes of a lunar huntress, and his Zeus the attributes of royalty and celestial power. But whatever freedom of attribute he has indulged, from the pose he cannot emancipate himself. It is the pose of the great bronze Athena of Byzantium, and, as I incline to believe, of Athens also.

R. J. H. JENKINS

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[6] III 368.

[7] *Cf.* the nearly contemporary portrait of Basil II, Diehl, *La Peinture Byzantine*, pl. LXXXIII.

[8] See, however, the Athenian coin figured by Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie grecque, La Sculture*, II (Paris, 1929), 339, fig. 145, where what may be the πτέρυγες of a θῶραξ appear as vertical incisions below the waist.

[9] For this and the following details, see *JHS* LXVII (1949), 31–33.

[10] For the shield on the ground, *cf.* F. Chamoux, in *BCH* LXVIII–LXIX (1944–1945), 232–233.

[11] *Cf.* Chamoux, *loc. cit.*, and G. P. Stevens in *Hesperia* V (1936), 495. The column was, in fact, struck by lightning in October 1079 (Attaliota, ed. Bonn., p. 310_{7-19}.)

[12] Chamoux, *op. cit.*, 231.

FACE-URNS AND KINDRED TYPES IN ANATOLIA

(PLATE 12)

Professor Frankfort's article *Ishtar at Troy*[1] suggests a new explanation for the Trojan face-urns, and a pedigree which connects them with Mesopotamian or north-Syrian prototypes. The series he discusses includes the winged vessels and covers from Thermi.[2] These are also referred to by Professor

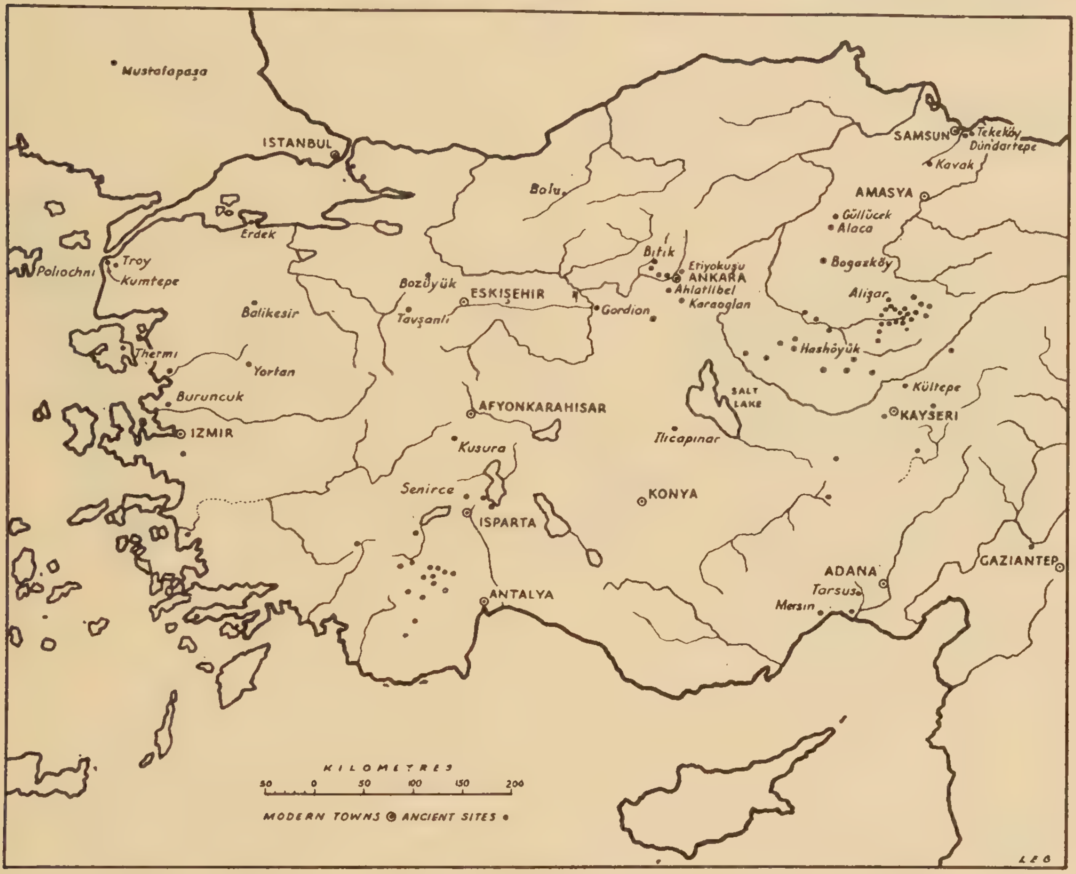
Mustafapaşa
ISTANBUL
Bolu
Erdek
Troy
Poliochni
Kumtepe
Balikesir
Bozüyük
ESKIŞEHIR
Tavşanli
Gordion
Bitik
Etiyokuşu
ANKARA
Ahlatlibel
Karaoglan
SAMSUN
Tekeköy
Dündartepe
Kavak
AMASYA
Güllücek
Alaca
Bogazköy
Alişar
Hashöyük
Thermi
Yortan
Buruncuk
IZMIR
AFYONKARAHISAR
SALT LAKE
Kültepe
KAYSERI
Ilıcapınar
Kusura
Senirce
ISPARTA
KONYA
ANTALYA
ADANA
Tarsus
Mersin
GAZIANTEP
KILOMETRES
50
0
50
100
150
200
MODERN TOWNS ◉ ANCIENT SITES •
LEB

FIG. 1.—ANATOLIA.

I am indebted to the following sources for the figures in the text: FIG. 1 is from *Iraq* XI 189; FIG. 2, *a* from Schliemann, *Ilios*, 217, fig. 36; FIG. 2, *b* from W. Lamb, *Thermi*, pl. XXXII 4; FIG. 3 *a* from *MDOG* LXXIV 17, fig. 11; FIG. 3, *b*, *c* from *Türk Tarih Kongresi* III (see note 15 below); FIG. 4, *a* from Schliemann, *Ilios*, 344, fig. 238; FIG. 4, *b*, *c* from W. Lamb, *Thermi*, pl. X 336, 481. All drawings are by Miss F. Freemantle, to whom warm thanks are due, also to Mr. L. Gallagher and Miss N. Six for the map.

In addition to the usual abbreviations in *BSA*, the following are used:

AH II = H. Koşay, *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük*, 1936.
Belleten = *Türk Tarih Kurumu*: *Belleten.*
DTCFD = *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara).
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
MDOG = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin.*
SS = H. Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer.*

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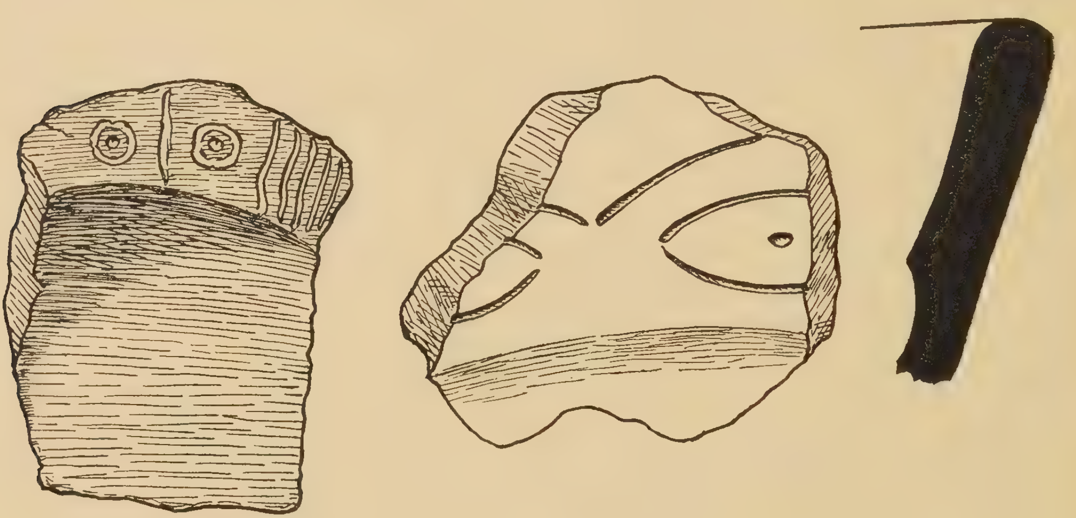
[1] *JNES* VIII 194 ff.

[2] Lamb, *Thermi*, pl. X nos. 340, 341, 481.

Mallowan in his account of the idols from Brak.[3] Professor Mallowan's interpretation differs from Professor Frankfort's,[4] and to a student of Anatolian prehistory may seem more convincing. But such matters do not concern us here. The purpose of this paper, which accepts the assumption that eyes and eyebrows on vases from Turkish sites are indeed derived from the eastern sources identified by the two scholars, is much narrower: to review the Anatolian evidence,[5] present some fresh examples, and thereby reduce the geographical gap between Troy and the east to which Professor Frankfort refers. For recent excavations have yielded several face-vases from central Turkey: unluckily, as will be shown, most of them are too late to be regarded as links in a chain. Our material, some old, some new, may be divided into types, the first comprising open bowls adorned with incised eyes and eyebrows, the second including face-urns, lids, and other forms.



(*a*) (*b*)

Fig. 2.—Sherds with Eyes from Troy and Thermi.
(*a*) After Schliemann, *Ilios*, 217, fig. 36; (*b*) after Lamb, *Thermi*, pl. XXXII, 4.

Type I. Open Vases Decorated with Eyes and Eyebrows

Such features, incised on the inner rims of bowls, are an early development and appear to be confined to northwestern Anatolia. Specimens have been found at Troy in the first city, and at Thermi in its middle periods, where they are probably contemporary with Troy I.[6] FIG. 2, *b*, shows a Thermiote sherd, with lozenge-shaped eyes recalling those on a seal from Tell Agrab which both Professor Frankfort and Professor Mallowan illustrate:[7] the Trojan sherd, FIG. 2, *a*, supplies the nose. Here, perhaps, are the prototypes of the plastic faces, type II, with which Trojan potters so freely enlivened their wares.

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[3] *Iraq* IX 201.

[4] *Ibid.*, 202–210.

[5] For this evidence I am greatly indebted to an article by Dr. Tahsin Özgüç, *DTFCD* II 709 (in Turkish only).

Type II. Face-Urns and Face-lids

Troy. The Trojan face-urns and face-lids are familiar, and a detailed discussion would be out of place, all the more so since the publication of Professor Blegen's excavations is imminent. Schliemann's finds, with their variations, can be studied in his *Troja* and *Ilios*, also in Schmidt's *Schliemann Sammlung.* With regard to period, it should be remembered that the jars which we loosely call urns and their covers were first decorated with faces during the lifetime of the second city, and survived beyond the fourth,[8] being thus contemporary, more or less, with the two-handled goblets and succeeding open bowls of our Type II. Nowhere else were the urns so popular, so much at home.

Bolu lies well to the north of any route which may have connected Troy with the prehistoric settlements round Ankara, or with Alaca further east, yet it is the home of a remarkably fine anthropomorphic jar (PLATE 12).[9] There are arms, pierced lugs for ears, breasts roundly modelled over a plump chest, and horizontal grooves for eyes. The orifice is oval, and under one arm there is a hole which looks at first like a perforation but proves to be an accidental cavity. The clay is yellowish-buff, with only slight traces of polish, the height 24 cm. Smug, stout, and sleepy, the figure which this vessel presents has counterparts at Troy: closed eyes distinguish certain faces there,[10] among the more numerous alert ones. Style indicates a date in the 'Copper' or Early Metal Age, and the other finds from Bolu, though not very characteristic, point to the same conclusion.

Tekeköy, on the Black Sea coast near Samsun, is the site of a remarkable extra-mural cemetery.[11] The cemetery belongs to the 'Copper Age', and may be dated perhaps between 2400 and 2100 B.C. Among the pottery which accompanied the burials was a small fragment bearing a plastic eye and eyebrow.[12] It is made in a polished black ware which does not, apparently, differ from the normal local clay

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[6] Schliemann, *Ilios*, 217, fig. 36; 247, fig. 100; Lamb, *Thermi*, 89 and pl. XXXII 3, 4.

[7] *JNES* VIII 196, fig. 1, no. 4; *Iraq* IX 210, fig. 19.

[8] Professor Blegen found one example in a definite second city context, *AJA* XLI 564–5; the stratum was 'third from the end of (Troy) II in F 4–5'. For Schliemann's second city examples, see *Ilios*, 290–2. For the evidence from other strata, see *AJA* XXXVIII 231; XXXIX 9, 562; XLI 571.

[9] *Belleten* VIII, no. 30, pl. XLIX 345. I am indebted to Dr. Koşay for permission to publish the vase, which is in the Ethnological Museum, Ankara, and for supplying photographs.

[10] Good examples are *SS* nos. 308, 309, of which the former, unfortunately a head only, is particularly close to the Bolu vase.

[11] *Belleten* IX, no. 35, 382–8, 398–400; *Iraq* XI 193–5.

Alaca Höyük. Several publications refer to face-vases from Alaca,[13] and Dr. Koşay's forthcoming publication will give descriptions and illustrations. The vases were, apparently, introduced during the 'Copper Age', and survived into the Hittite period, where they have been identified in the middle strata which the excavators call Alaca II, 3, and which cannot be earlier than the late sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C.[14] To those strata belong two remarkable sherds published in 1948 (FIG. 3, *b*, *c*).[15] Each is adorned with a thick, beak-like nose, heavy brows, and button-like eyes: each looks as though it came from a bowl. Yet they have little resemblance to the wide, open bowls with interior decoration of our Type I; and their ultimate inspiration must surely have been the more owl-like vessels of the kind made at Troy.

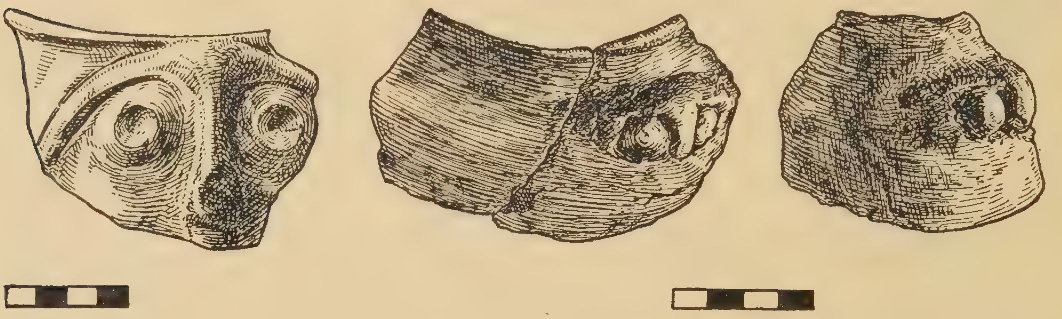
(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

FIG. 3.—FACE-VASES.
(*a*) From Boğazköy, after *MDOG* LXXIV 17, fig. 11.
(*b*), (*c*) After *Türk Tarih Kongresi* III (see note 15).

Boğazköy. From the Hittite capital comes a face, sharp-nosed, staring, with downward sloping eyebrows. The mouth, as sometimes at Troy, is small (FIG. 3, *a*). Hittite potters were clever at making figures in relief on their vases, and this face, with its smooth, sure modelling, is in much the same style. Dr. Bittel discovered the fragment we are discussing in level IVa in 1935, and described it as probably part of a rhyton.[16] It has a slightly outward-turned rim, and is fashioned of grey-brown clay with a red polished slip which, according to the text, does not cover the eyes. Level IVa antedates the later Empire, so the rhyton from Boğazköy and the face-sherds from Alaca belong approximately to the same period, before 1500 B.C. But how dissimilar they are in other respects: as though the Trojan tradition had, at two cities not far apart, been preserved in different forms!

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[12] *Belleten, loc. cit.*, 386–7, pl. LXVIII 5.

[13] *AH* II 179; *DTCFD, loc. cit.*, 709, note 63; *Belleten* I 539; VIII, no. 29, 157.

[14] *Iraq* XI 202.

[15] *Türk Tarih Kongresi* III (1943), 175, Dr Kosay's pl. 6, no. Al.1. H83. This publication is no. IX 3, of the *Türk Tarih Kurumu.*

[16] *MDOG* LXXIV 16–7, fig. 11.

Thus it can be shown that vessels adorned with human features were made in Anatolia for at least 800 years; not, however, in large quantities except at Troy during the second half of the third millennium. On the Anatolian evidence alone, a student would be inclined to say: ' here is a convention which was invented at Troy and thence travelled eastward '. He would call to mind the fact that sites near Samsun, such as Tekeköy, give the impression of being subject to Troadic influence; [17] that signs of contact between Troy and Alaca have long been recognised.

Now, in view of the strong arguments advocated for an alien, eastern origin, he must readjust his ideas. The convention was not invented at Troy. But was Troy the distributing centre, or had it rivals along roads over the plateau leading to Syria? The Kültepe idols might support such a hypothesis if they had been imitated elsewhere; Alaca might have claimed to be a transmitter if it had produced more specimens of appropriate date.

Yet the strongest arguments are still in favour of Troy; there, on bowls of Type I, the eye-device was first displayed; there, on the urns and lids of Type II, it was elaborated and multiplied. Gradually, as roads were opened up, it spread eastward and northward. Whether it had any religious significance during the Hittite period, or was due merely to respectful conservatism and popular fancy, we cannot tell.

How, then, did it get to Troy? Not apparently overland, but by some route along the south and west coasts. Already there is evidence that Troy and its neighbours had connections with Cilicia, where the third millennium pottery from Tarsus and Mersin can be more freely compared with Troadic wares than with vases from the plateau.[18] The connection may have been partly racial, since there is reason for thinking that dwellers in the Troad and Cilicia might have belonged to the same branch of the Anatolian family, and partly commercial. Contact could have been maintained, in spite of the great distance, by sea or, in certain tracts, by routes near the sea; goods, symbols and even cults could have been transmitted.

Between Cilicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, communications were easier and their existence is generally recognised. It is, therefore, permissible to suggest that the eye-symbol came to Troy by way of maritime trade. Though an obvious objection to such a theory arises from the absence of undoubted

[17] *Iraq* XI 193.

[18] *AJA* XLIV 65–7; *LAAA* XXV 80–2, pl. XXII.

eye-symbols in Cilicia,[19] it is supported by the presence in Lesbos of the significant pot-covers (FIG. 4, *b*), so like the ones from Hama and Grai Resh, to which Professor Frankfort has drawn our attention.[20] Their shape is surely too odd to have journeyed overland without leaving copies behind on the many sites recently explored in the interior of Turkey. One of the vases they covered is shown in FIG 4, *c*: its Trojan counterpart, FIG. 4, *a*, gives the last face to appear in our portrait-gallery.

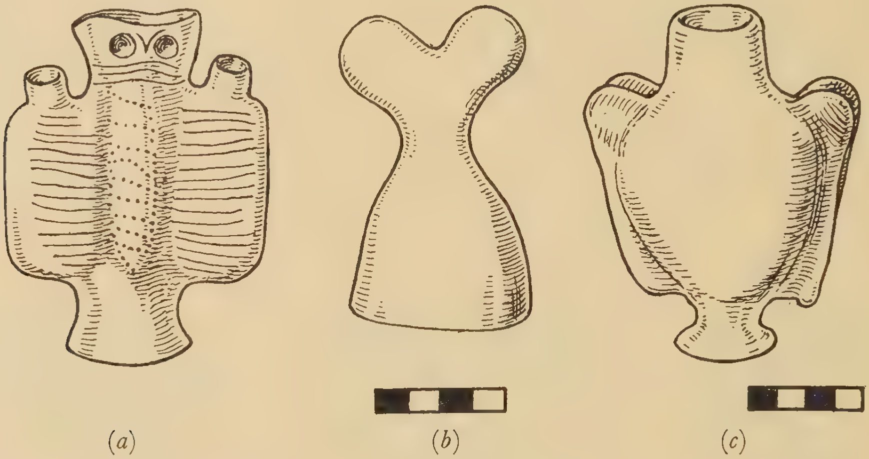
(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

FIG. 4.—(*a*) VASE FROM TROY. (After Schliemann, *Ilios*, 344, fig. 238.)
(*b*), (*c*) LID AND VASE FROM THERMI. (After Lamb, *Thermi*, pl. X, 341, 336.)

WINIFRED LAMB

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[19] Professor Garstang has drawn my attention to the decoration on the Early Chalcolithic vase, *LAAA* XXVI, pl. XXX 5, in which he recognises, only tentatively, a pair of eyes. The vase is admittedly too early in any case to support my hypothesis.

[20] *JNES* VIII 198–9, fig. 2, nos. 19–20.

THE ANCESTRY OF THE MINOAN PALACE

The object of this paper is to attempt to trace the sources of the various architectural elements which compose the palaces of Crete. To a large extent these were derived from overseas,[1] and the better knowledge of Asiatic architecture which has resulted from the publications of recent years calls for some revision of the views held by Evans and Pendlebury. This re-statement isolates and thereby facilitates investigation of the native share in the invention of the palace form, which has much in common with Cretan buildings of the Early Bronze Age. The difference between such buildings and the contemporary work in other regions of the Aegean demands explanation, and a theory which may account for it has at least the merit of offering a reason for the strangest feature of the Minoan palaces, their confused planning.

The facts about the early stages of the palaces are meagre.[2] The first of them were built in Middle Minoan I; only the general outlines of the plan can be vaguely discerned at Knossos and Phaistos or guessed in the case of Mallia. The arrangement of rooms is seldom ascertainable, and the few partitions that remain visible make an apparently senseless agglomeration of small rooms. But all three palaces were laid out on a unified plan, of which the basic feature is a central courtyard—a novel idea in Crete but traditional in both Egypt and Western Asia. Contrary, however, to the practice in those countries, the court is invariably twice as long or more from north to south as its east–west breadth, averaging some one hundred and seventy by eighty feet; the motive, no doubt, was to obtain as much sunlight as possible in winter for the sake of warmth, especially since the normal method of heating was by charcoal braziers. Long stretches of wall were avoided, probably because the builders distrusted their stability, but an architectural sense is also shown by the manner in which a long façade was diversified by placing some sections back or forward several feet or even yards, while the individual sections were broken by recessing the central part only a foot or less; examples can still be seen on the western frontages of all three palaces. Both schemes were habitually used in Mesopotamia [3] and therefore known in Syria, while Egyptian parallels are neither precise nor numerous. An appreciation of craftsmanship, hitherto lacking in Crete, is shown by the builders' technique. The walls consisted, as in Early Minoan buildings, of rubble or small roughly-dressed stones, or else of sun-dried brick, but were now lined at the base with a row of facing-slabs (orthostates) to a height of some three feet, and the entire face was stuccoed or plastered. Orthostates too were used in northern Mesopotamia and Syria,[4] and attached by the same means, of wooden bars morticed into the wall. The whole wall with its orthostates stood on a plinth a couple of feet high, which along an important frontage was allowed to project some eighteen inches. The slight recessing of the middle of a façade accordingly involved similar re-entrants in the edge of the plinth, and gained emphasis thereby. This likewise was common practice in Mesopotamia. The system of drainage, by means of earthenware pipes, could also have been derived from Mesopotamia, indirectly, no doubt, through the coast of Syria or Asia Minor. The rectangular supporting pillars are more typical of Egypt than of Syria. Altogether there can be no doubt that M.M. I architecture owed much to Asia and there is comparatively little evidence for borrowing from Egypt till considerably later. The strict formality and symmetry of Egyptian design must have been very alien to Cretan minds at the first impact, whereas the deliberate asymmetry of Asiatic palaces and temples would merely have surpassed their own ambitions. In any case we may presume that the Minoans possessed a better knowledge of Asiatic than of Egyptian architecture; they must have sailed regularly to the coast of Asia Minor and Syria (as the finds at Ras Shamra especially bear witness), and could have seen more buildings of fair quality there than at the mouths of the Nile.

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[1] For the pottery evidence of oriental contacts *cf.* Kantor *AJA* LI (1947), 1. The head of a Sumerian statuette found at Knossos (Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, 121, pl. XX 3) can now be dated *c.* 2000; there is a cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.

[2] The chronological treatment by Pendlebury *op. cit.* makes the position clear.

[3] E.g. *AJ* X (1930), pls. XXIX–XXXV; G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie orientale* IV, figs. 1096, 1153, 1167–8.

The work of Middle Minoan II has largely perished and that which survives gives little information on methods of design. Corridors were built in the Asiatic manner both as means of access and as stores for jars or boxes—an example of which at Mallia seems quite likely to date from M.M. I. The west porch at Knossos was made to project beyond the rest of the façade so that it could be entered on the side, parallel with the exterior of the main block; this arrangement was favoured at Tell-el-Amarna but no earlier instance has been found in Egypt, whereas the Syrians used it by 1600. Wooden columns on round stone bases were much used, as in Syria, and a terracotta model reproduces their shape; the shafts are cylindrical and carry square capitals like the Egyptian abacus, but there may well have been Syrian prototypes of this simple form. The use of cement for floors was already a Syrian practice.[5] The construction of the theatral areas must have begun not later than this period; nothing comparable to them is known elsewhere.

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[4] Geographically the most relevant case may be the palace at Qatna (*ibid.* II 878).

[5] *E.g.* the temple at Qatna and the palace of Yarim-La at Alalakh.

The greater part of the remains of palaces must date between the beginning of Middle Minoan III and the end of Late Minoan I; it appears that the architectural style took almost its final shape early in M.M. III and thereafter merely gained in refinement, largely perhaps as a result of increasing Egyptian influence. At first, however, Asiatic contributions are still noticeable. Fragments analogous to the miniature frescoes have been found at Alalakh.[6] The normal type of column had an Asiatic rather than an Egyptian type of capital and base, though exact comparisons cannot yet be made, and the device of inserting the shaft into a hollow is an Asiatic convention.[7] The sanitation probably followed Asiatic precedent in the usage of bathrooms and latrines as well as drains, but as it happens there are no contemporary Egyptian examples for comparison. Egyptian influence, however, is shown unmistakably in the columns with fluted or cannellated shafts [8] and almost beyond question in the peristyle courts and clerestory halls. It may have been responsible for the idea of constructing the temple tomb at Knossos and for the use in it of exceptionally fine ashlar. The tendency towards more disciplined planning which becomes apparent in L.M. I would also have been encouraged by a knowledge of Egypt, but the extent both of this knowledge and of its effects remains doubtful.

The arrangement of rooms in the palaces, however, is analogous in general to that of Egyptian houses under the Twelfth Dynasty, contemporary with M.M. I.[9] They too are planned with bent corridors, small rooms opening out of each other (in succession or on the but-and-ben method) or forming boxes one within the other, a few larger rooms which contained columns to support the ceiling, and sometimes a court, light-well, or clerestory hall. And the only element in this system which certainly existed in Early Minoan building is the inter-communicating small rooms. But there is one essential difference between Middle Minoan and Egyptian practice, however similar the theory: in Crete a wilful irregularity prevails and the plan seems an illogical and disorderly growth instead of a composed design. No doubt the upper floors were divided in a somewhat less labyrinthine manner but the actual ruins convey the impression that Minoan architecture was, as someone has remarked, ‘agglutinative’. My contention is that this joke almost expresses the literal truth, though not, of course, as regards the palaces; I would apply it to the Early Minoan heritage of the Middle Minoans who built the first palaces.

The Cretan habit, from Neolithic times, had been to congregate in larger buildings than those of other Aegean areas; the rooms themselves were smaller but more numerous.[10] In Early Minoan II and III this way of living is reflected in the construction of ossuaries so extensive that they could have received the bones of an entire clan or community.[11] And a single ‘ house ’ at Vasiliki comprised the greater part of the settlement at E. M. II; perhaps it contained a hundred rooms, but there is no knowing whether the upper floor or floors covered its whole area or only a part.[12] The ground plan shows a seemingly haphazard grouping of dozens of little rooms, seldom measuring over seven to twelve feet a side, and entered one from another. A paved court adjoined the north-west side and may be taken as a prototype for the paved courts bordering the M.M. palaces, while the use of a timber frame to reinforce the walls and of red stucco to face them proves continuity in technique.

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[6] Woolley, *AJ* XXVIII (1948), 14, from a hall partitioned in Minoan style by columns?

[7] Going back to the Neolithic custom of plastering around the base edge of a post-hole (Garstang *Story of Jericho* ², 59).

[8] Evans did not yet know of the temples at Saqqara when he published *PM* II ii, figs. 523–4.

[9] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (1891), 6, pl. XIV.

The inhabitants of this building appear to have lived on terms of virtual equality; no suite provided obviously superior accommodation, at any rate on the ground floor. It may therefore be inappropriate to compare the great house or *palazzo* of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, in which a multitude of relatives and dependants lived under the protection of a noble; indeed nothing similar to a feudal system is likely to have developed in the low state of culture at E.M. II. A more plausible analogy can be found in the Indian *pueblos* in the south-west of the United States; there one or more continuous blocks of buildings, of several storeys, compose the entire village, the social organisation is one of clans based on blood-relationship, and the constitutional system is democratic. A communal burial-place lies near the community-house. Nowadays each family may occupy a distinct, though undetached, flat or house, but in the ruins of some ancient villages it is as difficult to trace the boundaries between one habitation and another as at Vasiliki; others clearly grew by a process of accretion.[13] The original motive for such communal agglomerations must have been security. That is true also of the less exact parallel of the modern Berber communities which live in contiguous or adjacent individual rooms, suites or houses, wherever they preserve their democratic constitution, but where contaminated by Arab feudalism, as in the Atlas of Morocco, are mainly accommodated in the gigantic *kasbah* of the chief—a compromise between the Berber village and the Arab palace.[14] In either case the building is liable to run up several storeys. Sallust’s scanty data on the Libyan *oppida* and *castella*[15] do not exclude the possibility that the ancestors of these Berbers may have inhabited defensive agglomerations before 100 B.C. and if we could assume the custom to be primaeval it would be tempting to invoke the archaeological indications of a possible Libyan element in the Minoan population. However that may be, it seems reasonable to take the two existing Berber systems of settlement, the democratic and the feudal, as equivalent respectively to the Early Minoan communal tenement and the Middle Minoan royal palace.

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[10] Pendlebury, *op. cit.* 39, fig. 3.

[11] *Ibid.* 63, fig. 7.

[12] *Ibid.* 62, fig. 5; *PM* I 71, fig. 39; Seager *Transactions of Pennsylvania Univ. Mus.* I (1906), 207, II (1907), 118.

[13] Hewett *Amer. Anthropologist* XI (1909), 441.

[14] R. Montagne, *Villages et Kasbas berbères*; T. Majorelle, *Les Kasbahs de l’Atlas*; *Country Life* Dec. 16, 1949, p. 1804—all on Morocco; *Enciclopedia Italiana s.v.* ‘ Libia ’ pls. VII–IX, ‘ Tripolitania ’ 376; *Picture Post* Dec. 5, 1942, p. 13—all on Tripolitania; C. Dalrymple Belgrave, *Siwa*; R. Maugham, *Journey to Siwa*. There seems nothing as relevant in Algeria (Randall-MacIver, *Libyan Notes*).

[15] None yet found? Alleged examples (Oric Bates, *Eastern Libyans*) do not meet the requirements.

The impulse to build the first palaces would naturally have arisen from knowledge of the oriental custom of accommodating the administrative offices of a kingdom around the king's person, and there are no grounds for supposing that Crete became ripe for such centralisation before the Middle Minoan epoch. The rambling ' agglutinative ' habit of building, which had been formed by the communal enterprises of the Early Minoans, would necessarily have persisted for some generations; the almost wholesale replacement in M.M. III of the original palaces suggests that their standards no longer gave satisfaction, and for all one can tell they may have been transitional in type between the Vasiliki slum tenement and their successors. In structural methods, at least, the continuity is obvious, but imitation of Syrian practices caused innovations even in this respect at the beginning of M.M. I, and others soon after. The changes in architectural design between E.M. II and M.M. I–II seem mainly due to the Syrian connection, whereas the improvement at M.M. III–L.M. I, especially in planning, may have incorporated more Egyptian than Asiatic elements and in general may reflect the influence of Egypt upon the sophistication induced by centuries of civilised life.

A. W. LAWRENCE

STARS AND CONSTELLATIONS IN HOMER AND HESIOD[1]

Heavenly bodies figure in the works of both Homer and Hesiod, but their functions in the two poems mainly concerned are very different, as accords with the contrasting character of the *Iliad* and of the *Works and Days*. For the moment it is enough to note that Hesiod's attention is directed mainly to constellations, Homer's (so to call the poet of the *Iliad*) to individual stars.

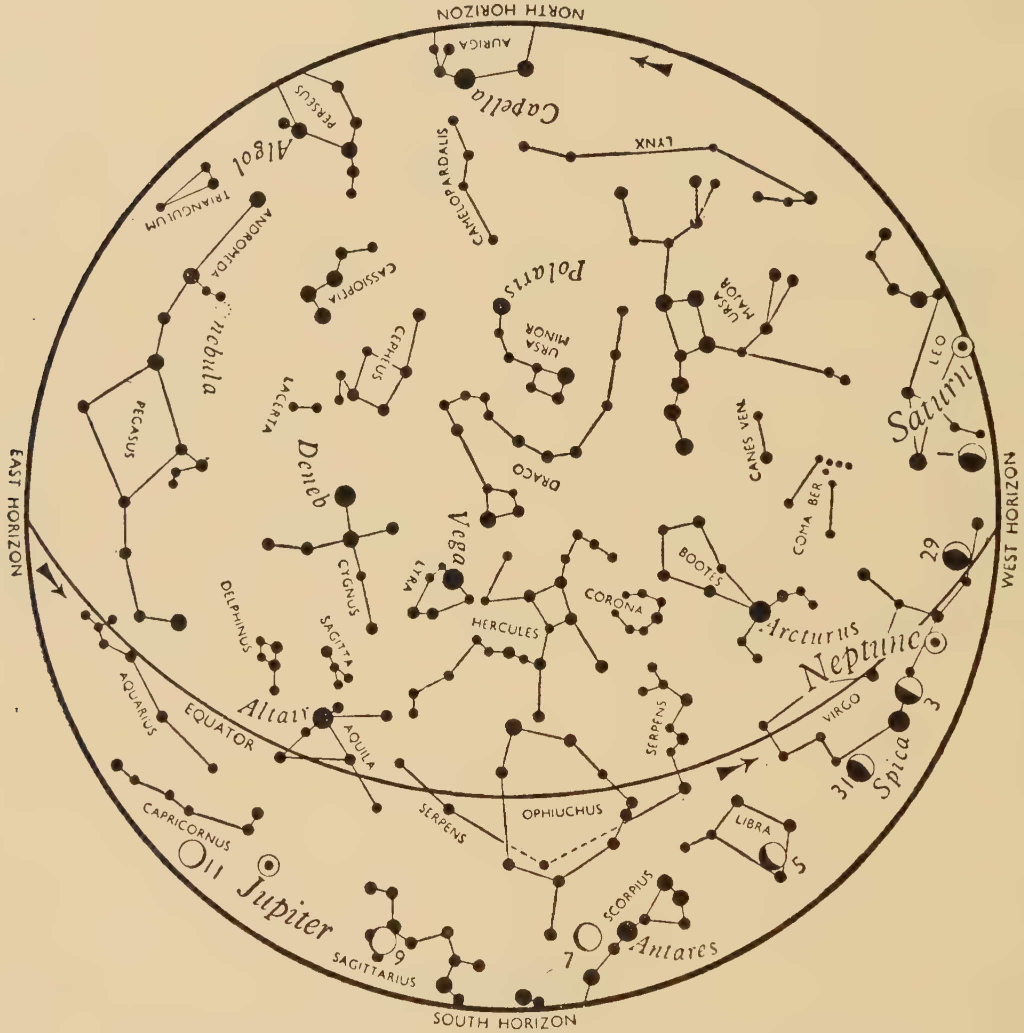
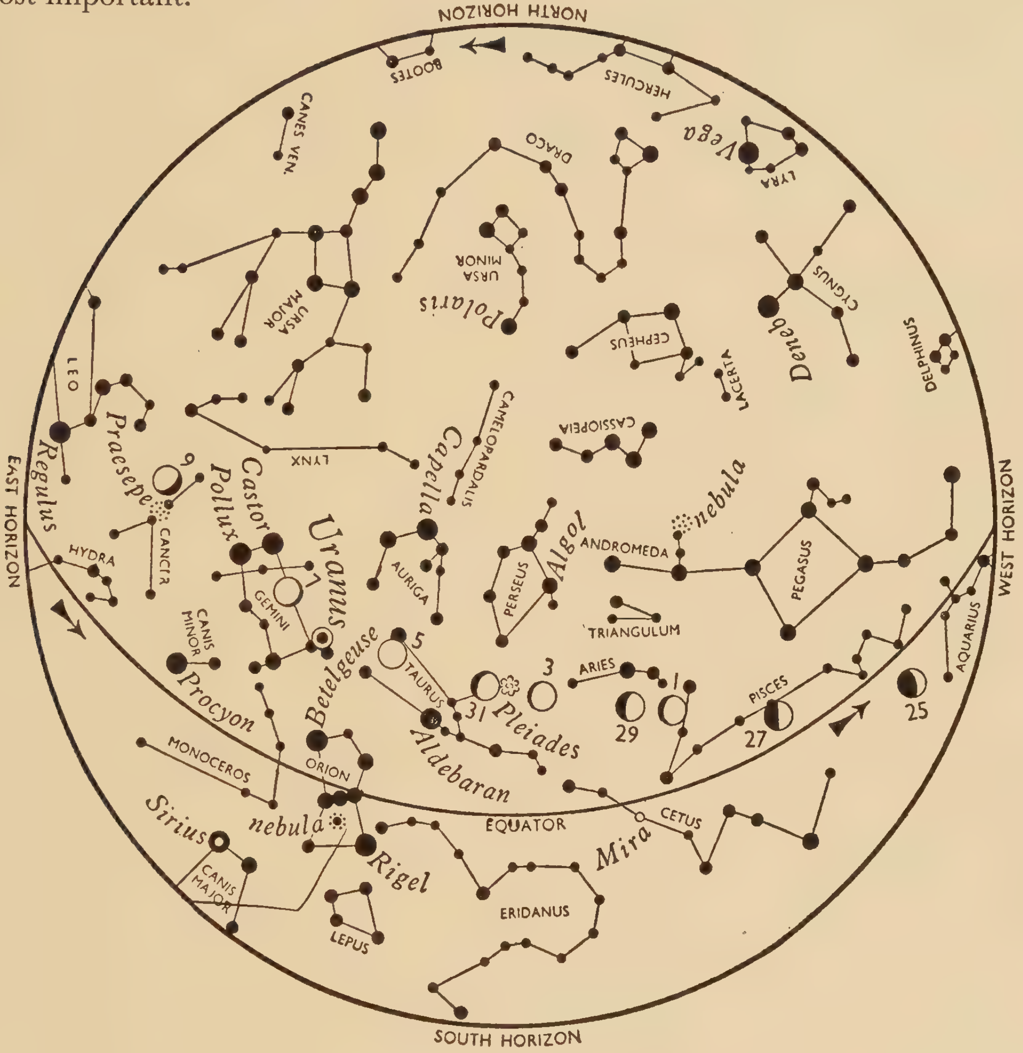

NORTH HORIZON
AURIGA
Capella
PERSEUS
Algol
TRIANGULUM
ANDROMEDA
nebula
CAMELOPARDALIS
LYNX
CASSIOPEIA
Polaris
URSA MINOR
URSA MAJOR
CEPHEUS
LACERTA
PEGASUS
Deneb
DRACO
CANES VEN.
LEO
Saturn
EAST HORIZON
WEST HORIZON
COMA BER.
Vega
LYRA
CYGNUS
BOOTES
29
CORONA
HERCULES
Arcturus
Neptune
DELPHINUS
SAGITTA
AQUARIUS
EQUATOR
Altair
AQUILA
SERPENS
VIRGO
3
Spica
31
OPHIUCHUS
LIBRA
5
CAPRICORNUS
11
Jupiter
SCORPIUS
7
Antares
SAGITTARIUS
9
SOUTH HORIZON

Fig. 1.—The Night Sky in July (after *The Times* of July 1st, 1949).
(See note 1.)

The passages which establish the fact are few, but as the precise meaning of some of them is in doubt, it is necessary to begin with an examination of the most important.


NORTH HORIZON
BOOTES
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DRACO
Vega
LYRA
URSA MINOR
Polaris
URSA MAJOR
CYGNUS
CEPHEUS
Deneb
DELPHINUS
LACERTA
LEO
CAMELOPARDALIS
CASSIOPEIA
EAST HORIZON
Regulus
Praesepe
9
Castor
Pollux
LYNX
Capella
nebula
WEST HORIZON
Uranus
CANCER
HYDRA
GEMINI
7
AURIGA
Algol
ANDROMEDA
PERSEUS
PEGASUS
CANIS MINOR
TRIANGULUM
AQUARIUS
Betelgeuse
5
TAURUS
3
ARIES
1
Procyon
31
Pleiades
29
PISCES
27
25
Aldebaran
MONOCEROS
ORION
Sirius
nebula
EQUATOR
CETUS
Mira
Rigel
CANIS MAJOR
ERIDANUS
LEPUS
SOUTH HORIZON

FIG. 2.—THE NIGHT SKY IN DECEMBER (after *The Times* of December 1st, 1949). (See note 1.)

The comparison (X 26–32) of Achilles in armour moving over the field of battle to a star presently described as the Dog of Orion has been criticised as

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[1] The author wishes to thank *The Times* newspaper for permission to reproduce (from the issues of July 1st and December 1st, 1949) the diagrams FIGS. 1 and 2. These maps of the heavens show (FIG. 1) the attitude of Bootes as described in the *Phaenomena* of Aratus 608–9, rising in a horizontal position 'all in one piece', dominated by Arcturus; (*b*) (FIG. 2) the last stage of his gradual disappearance, when Arcturus has already vanished, but the hands of the Ploughman remain. The first stars of Orion, above the Belt, are coming into view; Sirius still lags far behind. See p. 100.

containing inconsistencies, but these are created by what appears to be a mistranslation of εἶσιν as ‘ rises ’. This rendering fixes the date on which the simile is supposed to be applicable as that of the first visibility of the Dog (otherwise Sirius) after his heliacal rising. In the virtually identical latitudes of Helicon and Colophon Sirius would, *c.* July 9th, rise about twenty-one minutes before the sun, which would allow him a number considerably less before the growing light extinguished him and those other stars which, according to the simile, he outshines. July 9th may be taken as a working date for his first visibility. Two questions arise: could Sirius on that date be said to rise ὀπώρης and could attention be reasonably directed to his conspicuous rays on the morning of his first visibility? To take the second question first. It is well to recall the Alexandrian discovery that Homer does not make epithets of invisible qualities, a restriction which here should surely apply to the adjective ἀρίζηλοι. Whether εἶσιν in an astronomical connection is ever correctly rendered by ‘ rises ’ is at least open to question;[2] in the closely comparable passage (Χ 317–8) less than three hundred lines farther on, the translation is plainly impossible. The verb is in this case closely connected with μετ' ἀστράσι[3] and the evening star does not rise simultaneously with a host of other stars; he moves on his way among them, a translation of εἶσι as natural here as in the description of the lion ὅστ' εἶσι ὑόμενος καὶ ἀήμενος (ζ 131).

The same explanation is applicable in Χ 27 ff.; Achilles does not ‘ rise ’ like a star, but is seen by Priam ranging over the field of battle. The belief that the poet meant to give the date of the first visibility of Sirius has diverted the attention of commentators from the dominant characteristics of the season ὀπώρη in Homer. It is of course the season of fruit, as θέρος is of grain, and is distinguished from θέρος by the poet of the *Odyssey* (λ 192–4). The season there indicated, however, cannot cover all that was meant by ὀπώρη, for Laertes continued to sleep out in it,[4] whereas the adjective ὀπωρινός is associated both by Homer and Hesiod with violent rain. The second meaning of the word—fruit—shews that we are not dealing with the strictly delimited μετόπωρον or φθινόπωρον of the historic period, which according to the calendar quoted in the medical tract περὶ διαίτης[5] opened with the rising of Arcturus near the beginning of September and ended with the setting of the Pleiades in November. The Farmer's Year is in all times and places mapped out but not filled by its major events, and those with which we are concerned here are primarily harvest and vintage. ὀπώρη no doubt began in August with apples, pears and figs; these, however, make but a meagre appearance in epic and (if we except the apples of the Hesperides) none at all in Hesiod. The culminating event was the vintage, on which alone Hesiod's attention is fixed; he gives as its date the rising or rather the first visibility of Arcturus. The average date of the Greek vintage is somewhere in the first half of September; that of the first visibility of Arcturus would, *c.* 700, fall *c.* September 8th.[6] The next event of importance is the breaking of the weather and the falling of the first torrential rain; its date naturally varies with both latitude and longitude. In Macedonia and on the west coast of Greece it falls normally rather before the equinox, but in Attica, with which Boeotia may be reckoned, towards the end of October. After this, fine and pleasant weather may prevail for some time, and it is apparently in this period that Hesiod bids the farmer seek his timber, μετοπωρινὸν ὀμβρήσαντος | Ζηνός (*Op.* 415–6), when Zeus has finished the rains after the vintage. The word μετοπωρινόν does not occur in Homer and this, coupled with the fact that Hesiod gives the *iota* its correct and un-epic quantity,[7] suggests that he is using language near to that of everyday life. Whether the word means 'coming after the ὀπώρη' or, as Mazon prefers,[8] 'at the change-over from ὀπώρη', the meaning must be limited to the first autumn rains, and it is probable that these are also referred to in Π 384–5.

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[2] Schol. BT both give ἄνεισιν (B ἐξέρχεται καὶ ἄνεισιν); both add ἔδει δὲ πρὸ ὀπώρας εἰπεῖν, τότε γὰρ ἡ τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολή. T on Ψ 226 preposterously compounds ἐπί with the verb, betraying an uneasy knowledge that the equation εἶσιν = ἄνεισιν at least needs apology. In Ψ 226 the meaning ‘ moves on his way ’ is appropriate, for the waning of the flames would take some time. Granted that too much stress must not be laid on the imperfect ἐμαραίνετο followed by an aorist, since the question of aorist and imperfect in epic diction is often determined by metrical considerations alone, still the change of tense accords with the proposed translation. The same interpretation holds for ν 94, where the verb is ἔρχεται.

[3] Possibly also in Χ 27–8, in which case a comma after φαίνονται is necessary.

[4] As do the Greek peasant and his family to-day, throughout the weeks of constant attention to the vines which immediately precede the vintage, and the vintage itself.

[5] Hippocrates 3. 68 (Littré vi, 594). The relevant part of the tract (which is a compilation) is not later than the 4th century; see *RE* VIII 1820 ff.

The date of the vintage is farther but more loosely specified as that when Orion and Sirius ἐς μέσον ἔλθῃ. This brings us to the question whether Arcturus or Sirius is to be identified with Homer's ἀστὴρ ὀπωρινός (Ε 5); ancient scholars entertained some doubts on the subject. The case of Χ 27 was indeed settled by the identification with the Dog in 29, but over the star of Ε 5, which one would suppose to be the same, the Scholia reveal a divergence of opinion; A declares for the Dog, B for Arcturus, according to T it may be either.

Hesiod's mention of Sirius in connection with the vintage, of whose approach he would be a more obvious celestial reminder than the still invisible Arcturus, establishes his claim to be described as ἀστὴρ ὀπωρινός. Since his heliacal rising he has been gaining ground at the rate of four minutes each morning, and would therefore on September 8th appear a full three hours earlier, the sun in the same period has been rising later at a daily rate less indeed than in our own latitude, but since he must appear at 6 a.m. on September 21st, he cannot on the 8th rise much if at all before 5·45. Sirius therefore precedes him by more than three hours, throughout which his ἀριζηλοι αὐγαί would catch the eye of anyone who happened to be awake and abroad. At a date which may be put on an average about six weeks later the weather breaks, there is a sharp fall in temperature, torrential rain drenches and soaks the earth in the manner described in the magnificent simile of Π 384–5 ἤματ' ὀπωρινῷ ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ | Ζεύς.

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[6] For the importance of Arcturus in the shepherd's year see Sophocles, *O.T.* 1137, and for the date the astronomical data in Jebb's Appendix *ad loc.* The date September 8th above was calculated from Jebb's date for 430 B.C.

[7] He also uses ὀπωρινός with a short iota in 674, but reverts to the epic quantity in 677.

[8] *Les Travaux et les Jours*, 101, n. 2. The same rain is called ὀπωρινός in 676.

The season of fever thus opens when Sirius is conspicuous in the sky, even as here the common cold attends the first onset of wintry conditions. If the proposed translation of εἶσι as ' moves ' be accepted, then every feature of the simile in Χ perfectly accords with the part played by Sirius in ὀπώρη.

πυρετός, as Schol. A notes, is a ἅπ. λεγ. in epic, not very surprisingly, since epic tends to ignore death from natural causes or ascribes it, in the case of the great, to the arrows of Apollo or Artemis. More important is his remark that the word must be taken in its literal sense and not as meaning the burning heat of the atmosphere. This looks as though the supporters of the first visible rising of Sirius as the date indicated, aware that there was nothing particularly unhealthy about the following weeks, tried to find a way round the difficulty by regarding the language as figurative. The determination that εἶσι should mean ' rises ' may possibly be accounted for by the scientific temper of the Alexandrian age, its interest in astronomy and its inclination to talk about stars in terms of their rising and setting.[9] Modern commentators on Homer have not as a rule had experience of the Aegaean area in summer and autumn and have been content to take the period of the highest sun temperatures as that in which fever may be expected.

It remains to discuss the obscure phrase νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ. Evidently obsolescent in the day of Homeric epic, it occurs only four times in the *Iliad*:—in Λ 173 and Ο 324, in which it gives the time of night at which beasts of prey attack flocks and herds, and in Χ 28 and 317 in similes whose point is the brilliance of the star which appears μετ' ἀστράσι. The scholia provide two interpretations—twilight, or more exactly, milking time, and μεσονύκτιον, dead of night. In the first two passages not only is the second the obviously appropriate meaning; in Ο 324 it is guaranteed by the epithet μελαίνης attached to νυκτός, and since both similes are of a simple, traditional type, it must be supposed to be the original significance, even if it were later superseded by another. In the remaining two similes, however, it is obvious that we are not dealing with twilight; the point of the simile is the brilliance not only of the specified star, but of the heavenly host which it outshines, and for that complete darkness is necessary, though it need not be that of midnight. When the season of fever begins, the Dog is in fact rising long before midnight, as we have just seen; the Evening Star (otherwise Venus) can be seen fairly late and in complete darkness. ‘ Darkness of night ’ seems therefore to meet every case of νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ in the *Iliad*. The one example furnished by the *Odyssey* (δ 841) gives the time of Penelope’s awakening and is therefore non-committal, but not adverse to this interpretation, which is the only possible one in *h. Merc.* 7. In the fragment from the *Heliades* of Aeschylus (Nauck^2 69) μελανίππου προφυγὼν ἱερᾶς νυκτὸς ἀμολγόν it is obviously from the darkness of night that the sun, crossing Ocean in his golden bowl, has escaped, and Hesychius quotes ἀμολγὸν νύκτα from Euripides as meaning νύκτα ζοφερὰν καὶ σκοτεινήν, though with the inevitable addition οἱ δὲ, μέρος νυκτὸς καθ’ ὃ ἀμέλγουσι. Milking must in fact be done by daylight, and not deferred till the swiftly passing twilight of Greece. Scanty as the evidence is, it suggests that the genuine tradition lasted on into the 5th century and that only the disastrous resemblance of the word to milk led the etymologically minded, possibly Sophists, to the creation of the second meaning.[10] The phrase at least does nothing to invalidate the interpretation proposed for the simile in Χ.

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[9] The importance of these and the difficulty of determining them must not be overlooked.

Star similes are not frequent in Homer, and in the two or three which do not specify a particular star there is nothing to interest us. In the four remaining examples, where the object is to single out a hero or some object associated with him for special emphasis, the star is made identifiable, though except in Χ 29 no proper name is used. In the first of our instances (Ε 5–6) the ἀστὴρ ὀπωρινός is compared to the flame which Athene kindles on the helmet of Diomede when he is about to embark on the unprecedented adventure of assaulting divinity itself, but—since nothing tragic is to come of it—in a form appropriately short and simple, with no ominous implications.

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[10] An analogous misunderstanding probably underlies the name and character of the Chimaera. The monster lived in Anatolia and had been reared by Amisodaros, father of two of the followers of Sarpedon; his name is of a non-Greek type which has a parallel in that of a Carian Pixodaros mentioned by Herodotus (V 118). It is evident that the earliest Greek representations of the Chimaera are not spontaneous creations generated by a foreign fairy-tale, but laborious attempts to render all the supposed ingredients of the subject. The most rebellious is the young nanny-goat whose head—nothing could be done about the body—protrudes from the lion’s back and makes the entire reconstruction look farcical. One poet at least did his best to make the creature ominous by associating the nanny-goat with that sacrificed before battle to Artemis Agrotera; this is Iphigenia’s rôle in the sacrifice at Aulis (Aesch. *Ag.* 232), a point noticed by many scholars and now by LS^9, but not by the commentators. It is even possible that κρόκου βαφάς (*ibid.* 239) refers to the κροκωτός worn by the girl dedicated to the service of Artemis Brauronia and Munichia in expiation, according to Schol. *ad* Ar. *Lysist.* 645, of the abominable sacrifice of a tame bear to Artemis by the Athenians in a time of famine. Such misunderstandings often arise from an attempt to give a meaning to a foreign word. Birdcage Walk and Rotten Row are familiar examples; bully beef is believed to be the British soldier’s rendering of the *boeuf bouilli* issued to him in tins during his service in France in the first world war. At some date in the 1920s a London policeman whose chest was decorated with a row of ribbons wound up his directions to the present writer with a warning against a blind alley: ‘ And don’t you go down there; that’s a coal-sack ’. This usage seems to have been ephemeral.

Next (Λ 62) come the superb comparison of Hector ranging the battle-field as he marshals his host to the οὔλιος ἀστήρ now appearing in a gap among the clouds, now vanishing behind them; ancient authority identified this star with the Dog, with a reference to the passage in Χ.[11] This latter, the third of our similes, has been adequately discussed, and it is at first sight surprising that the poet who applied this image to the splendour of Achilles, sinister and appalling in the eyes of the agonised Priam, should have ventured to use it again (317–8) with only the slightest of alterations and without so much as a change of scene. Not idly, however, is the spear of Achilles, gift of the gods and of his father, which he alone could wield, and therefore sole remnant of the panoply the rest of which Patroklos took into battle and Hector now wears—not idly is that spear, the destined instrument of Hector's death, compared to the star of evening ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ. More familiar to us as the planet Venus, it vies in its dazzling brilliance with Sirius himself.

It would not be right here to regard ἕσπερος as a proper name; it is no more than an epithet sufficient, like ὀπωρινός, for identification. The same applies to ἑωσφόρος in Ψ 226, even if the word were original and not, *pace* Wackernagel,[12] an Attic substitute of later, though still early days. The original word here must have been ἀστήρ, as a comparison with ν 93–4 suffices to shew.

It is natural that the poet of the *Iliad* should have no interest in constellations; but the case of Hesiod is different. In a simple society interest in astronomy is purely practical and related primarily to agriculture. In a society which may be highly sophisticated it serves other practical ends, those, namely, of navigation. There can be no doubt that the Greeks of the Late Bronze Age, the empire-builders of Mycenae, must have known all that there was to know of the astronomy of their day. In the 8th century those days were in a certain limited sense coming back again; after a period of isolation from all overseas intercourse such as never again befell or could befall her, Greeks were once more beginning to sail the Mediterranean, and piracy was once more one of the professions open to a gentleman. Hence Odysseus is quite able to understand the sailing orders given him by Calypso in terms of constellations—single stars are not of much use for navigation—Pleiades, Bootes, and the Bear, also called the Wain, who keeps an eye on the Bear and alone of the constellations never bathes in Ocean (ε 272 ff.).

The ἔκφρασις or descriptive set piece, of which the *Shield of Achilles* is the supreme example, shares with the Homeric simile the privilege of introducing objects and practices which are outside the range of ordinary epic narrative. This greatly increases the difficulty of deciding in the case of the *Shield* whether the successive scenes are all of one date, be it in the Bronze Age or the poet's own day, or whether there has been in the interval a successive ousting of some items and replacement by others more modern; finally, there is the question whether any additions are of a date later than that of the poet of the *Iliad*. That a work of this type is peculiarly open both to accretion and interpolation is obvious. Of the latter the *Ker* is an unmistakable example; the passage has simply been transferred from the Hesiodic *Scutum* (156–9). Each scene must therefore be scrutinised before it can be accepted as part of the Homeric *Shield*. It may seem wanton to attack a passage whose genuineness is so generally accepted as is that of Σ 486–9, yet it must rank as a suspicious circumstance that 486 is identical with Hesiod *Op.* 615 and 487–9 with ε 273–5. It is generally assumed that Hesiod and the poet of the *Odyssey* borrowed from the *Iliad*, but it is equally possible that the process was the reverse of this and that a later bard took the lines from their original contexts and inserted them in Σ, notably disturbing the balance of the passage. The motive for the insertion is probably to be found in the obscure word τείρεα[13] in 485, whose meaning it was desired to fix beyond dispute before it vanished from memory. As has been noted above, the lines from the *Odyssey* are perfectly at home there and the line from Hesiod in the *Opera*; as subjects of representational art the constellations, especially the dim cluster of the Hyades, are surely peculiar.[14]

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[11] Schol. A identifies with the Dog, offering no alternative, so does B with the alternative, obviously impossible, of a comet; both refer to Χ 26 ff. as authority for the Dog and for his deadly presage. T explains as 'perhaps' a comet, offering no alternative.

[12] *Sprächliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, 100 ff.

Turning to Χ 29–31, we are struck by a similar disturbance in the proportions of the simile and also by the misuse of ἐπίκλησιν 'by nickname'; this should follow the mention of the principal name which is here withheld.[15] It is true that this line does not occur elsewhere, but the presence of ἐπίκλησιν strongly suggests that it was taken from a context where it was preceded by a line in which the star was given its work-a-day name of Sirius. Why that name is studiously excluded from Homer we can only surmise; probably, since its associations were primarily agricultural, it was felt to be beneath the dignity of epic style. Yet the identity of the star must be fixed beyond dispute and so Χ 29 was interpolated, taken, there can be little doubt, from some Hesiodic poem now lost. Boeotians were much preoccupied with Orion, their local celebrity, putative son of Hyrieus, the eponymous hero of Hyria. Hesiod already knows of his dealings with the Pleiades (*Op.* 619–20), though he does not mention that they brought him first death and then stellification; such themes are alien to the *Opera*. Corinna was fascinated by him, and even the cosmopolitan Pindar makes a passing reference to the affair of the Pleiades (*Nem.* II 17), but in an ode addressed to a near neighbour, a victor from Acharnae, and in a lost dithyramb, an article for home consumption (Strabo 404).

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[13] τερέων is quoted from Alcaeus by Eustathius in his comment on this passage; see Bergk,^{4} Alc. fr. 155. Otherwise the only appearance of the word is in *h. Mart.* 7, where it is plainly an epic ornament borrowed from Σ. No kinship is recognised by philologists between τείρεα and σείρια, apparently a manufactured plural of σείριος, designed to emphasise the supposed connection with τείρεα, but this does not rule out an ancient confusion between the two. Hence might arise the view that σείρια meant stars in general, a sense in which it is used by Ibycus (Bergk,^{4} Ib. fr. 3, Diehl fr. 12); *cf.* the lexicographers and Schol. *ad* Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* II 517.

[14] It is true that on two monuments of the Late Bronze Age, the Great Goddess ring from Mycenae (*JHS* XXI (1901), 108 fig. 4) and the Genii ring from the Tiryns hoard (*AM* LV (1930), Beilage XXX 2), the sun and moon figure as a highly conventionalised motif, one therefore which must have been common form in contemporary art and may have become traditional in some ἔκφρασις—obviously not that of the *Shield of Achilles*. The Great Goddess ring dates to the end of the Shaft-grave period, that of the Genii is possibly a little earlier; both are products of Minoan inspiration, possibly of Minoan execution as well. On both the sun and moon are placed in a sort of exergue which surmounts the main design; in each the sun, a disc with a number of radii, is placed to the right, the sickle-shaped moon to the left, on the Tiryns ring resting on its tips in a horizontal position; the 'phase' therefore has no significance. The exergue is separated from the main design on the Mycenae ring by a pair of wavy parallel lines, on that from Tiryns by a single line also wavy; this may be a mere convention or it may represent the horizon. The background of the sun and moon on the Goddess ring is left clear, that on the Tiryns ring is filled with a series of closely set pimples, divided by four branches into five sections. The meaning of these is disputed. They have been claimed as stars; if this is the solution we may possibly have in them the ultimate source of our τείρεα. They seem, however, too thickly sown. As it is generally agreed that the Genii are performing a rite designed to promote fertility, it is conceivable that the pimples represent seed or the surface of land for its reception.

[15] Η 138, Σ 487, ε 273. It is true that in Χ 506 there is no mention of the principal name Skamandrios, but we already know from Ζ 402, in a passage which Andromache's lament vividly recalls, that this was the name given by Hector to his son.

Lack of epic dignity may also account for the suppression of ε 272, in which the name Bootes occurs, and the insertion as Σ 486 of Hes. *Op.* 615 and therewith of the Hyades, than which it would be hard to find a constellation less suitable for decorative purposes. That the name Bootes does not occur in Hesiod is at first sight surprising, but is explained by the fact that Arcturus is far the brightest star in the constellation and also an approximately precise guide for a particular day, *e.g.*, that of the beginning of spring or of the vintage. The description 'late-setting' refers not to the hour of his nightly disappearance, which must be earlier each evening, but to the slow and gradual character of his all but total vanishing from the night sky, which as Aratus notes (*Phaen.* 581–9, 721–3) is spread over four Signs of the Zodiac and even at the end of it leaves his hands visible. This is due to the fact that throughout his setting he is in a vertical position and continues to be a valuable guide to sailors until near the end. When the time of his reappearance comes he is horizontal and mounts aloft 'all in one piece', dominated by Arcturus (*Phaen.* 608–9) and consequently is deprived of all independent value. Hesiod uses the verb βοωτεῖν 'to plough with oxen'[16] and βοώτης is used as a common noun meaning 'ploughman' by Lycophron (*Alex.* 268) and one or two other late authors and apparently has no other meaning.[17] Hesiod has no occasion to use it, for ploughing was done by master and men alike (*Op.* 459). Only the plough-ox is called ἀροτήρ (*ibid.* 405).

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[16] Which suggests that the true meaning of Boeotia is 'The Arable Land'.

[17] Boutes, the eponym of the Boutadai and Eteoboutadai of Athens, was undoubtedly a hero of the plough, as his marriage to Chthonia shews (Apollod. I 15, 1). The word, which is simply the Attic form of Bootes, must have faded out of Attic speech long before we first encounter it. It occurs in Aeschylus, Euripides, and Theocritus, but invariably with the meaning *boukolos*.

If we ask whence the Hesiodic nomenclature of the stars and constellations is derived we are in the realm of pure conjecture, and must bear in mind the sharp division between literary Greek, with which we are imperfectly acquainted, and the contemporary vernacular, of which, even in the historic age, we are virtually ignorant. Aratus was apparently well aware that the bear was really a plough, but was debarredfrom saying so. *Cf.* FIG. 3.[17a] The lines

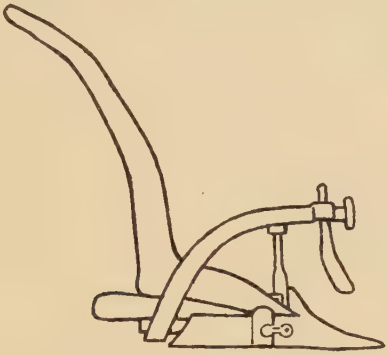

FIG. 3.—PLOUGH IN USE IN THE DORDOGNE.[17a]
(From a photograph taken in the period between the two World Wars.)

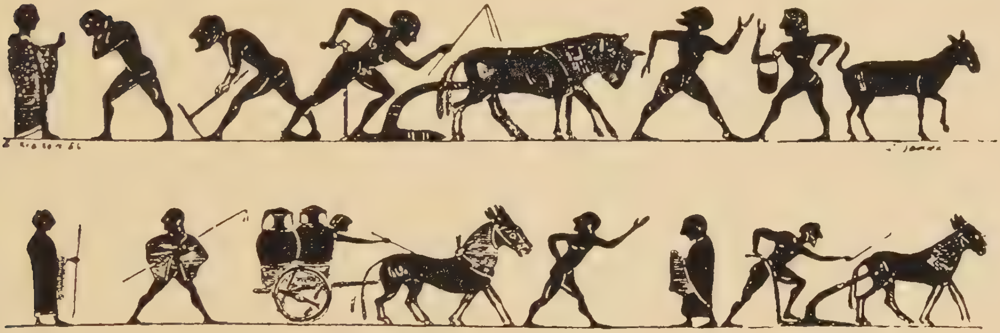

FIG. 4.—THE FARMER'S YEAR.[18]

> Ἐξόπιθεν δ' Ἑλίκης φέρεται ἐλάοντι ἐοικὼς
> Ἀρκτοφύλαξ τὸν ῥ' ἄνδρες ἐπικλείουσι Βοώτην,
> οὕνεχ' ἁμαξαίης ἐπαφώμενος εἴδεται Ἄρκτου (*Phaen.* 91–3)

describe the action of a ploughman and none but a ploughman, and the object on which he lays his hand is the ἐχέτλη; the man who drives a waggon sits in front. Both scenes are charmingly illustrated on a 'Kleinmeister' cup (6th cent.) (FIG. 4) [18] and also by Hesiod (*Op.* 467 ff.). None the less the constellation offers a very fair suggestion of a primitive cart, and its tradition lived on in the astronomy of mediaeval Europe, first as Arthur's Wain, owing to a confusion with Arcturus, and then because of the association of Arthur and Charlemagne, as Charles's Wain.[19] By that name as well as that of the Plough it was familiar to the generation which to-day is fast disappearing; probably the name is going or already gone. The really perplexing item is the Great Bear, who according to Greek mythology (for in ordinary life the feminine definite article applied equally to both sexes) is the She Bear. It is not difficult, though not particularly obvious, to see in the seven stars of the Wain the figure of a quadruped,[20] the four stars which mark the angles of a quadrilateral indicating the limits of body and legs and the remaining three being allocated to the tail; this presumably is how the poet of the Odyssey saw his bear. In later astronomy the four stars are limited to one-half of the hindquarters, but the three are throughout history assigned to the tail. For a feline they would make a good tail, but they are wholly unlike the stumpy appendage of a bear. It is true that many still more fantastic names are applied to the Signs of the Zodiac and other constellations recognised by Eudoxus; they had to be named and they did not resemble anything. Hesiod and the *Odyssey* are far removed from those days; we must seek rather some conception more primitive than those of plough and cart to account for the name of the constellation. Bears abounded in Greece, on Parnes, on Taygetus, in Arcadia,[21] but the Greeks of the historic period took very little notice of them; they play a restricted rôle in mythology and none at all in art. It is in the relation of the constellation to Artemis that we must seek the original importance of the bear, but its record is dim and meagre. True, bear (and wolf) figure in the revolting holocaust offered to Artemis Laphria by the people of Patrae,[22] but it is evident that no special significance attaches to either. Of more interest is the small ivory figure of a bear found among the archaic votives of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, supplemented somewhat doubtfully by a very rough terra-cotta and far outnumbered by the votives of lions and other animals. It is an original primitive relation between goddess and bear that we must seek, and it is perhaps indicated in the mythological account of Kallisto and Artemis, one of whose most frequent cult-names is Kalliste. Kallisto is changed into a bear by Zeus, who hoped thus to conceal his misconduct; she is detected by Hera and shot dead at her bidding by Artemis. In a version which comes nearer to the original conception Artemis slays her without prompting to punish her lapse; in either case Zeus by way of compensation for her sufferings places her as a constellation in the sky. This is a relatively late and quite conventional tale; there is, however, one fragment of tradition respecting Brauron which preserves in a tangle of obscurities and distortions a less sophisticated form of the story. The picture which emerges from the ancient sources[23] is that of a bear offered to Artemis as her proper sacrificial victim, with the possibility in the background that bear and goddess were once identical.

[17a] Its close resemblance to the plough on the Kleinmeister cup is obvious and accounts for the fact that in so many regions and periods the Great Bear has been known as the Plough.

[18] Reproduced from *MuZ* III 248.

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[19] See *NED s. v.* 'Wain'.

[20] Eskimos of Alaska and certain Indian tribes of N. America have named the constellation a bear, but the Iroquois at least have restricted the animal to the four stars and in the three see three hunters who pursue him. See Frazer, Pausanias, IV 191.

[21] Paus. I 32, 1; III 20, 4; VIII 23, 9.

[22] Paus. VII 18, 12.

If we go on to ask why the Wain survived while the Plough vanished from the sky, the answer may be that whereas agriculture was unimportant in the economy of the Mycenaean empire and probably practised only by men of pre-Hellenic speech, transport was of supreme importance in building that empire up. The ruts cut in the flags that pave the Lion gateway at Mycenae were not made solely nor, we may surmise, mainly to facilitate the passage of chariots going forth to war, but rather that of heavy waggons carrying goods on their passage from the Gulf of Argos to that of Corinth. It is true that already in the days of the Shaft-graves Mycenae was a highly important entrepôt in the trade which has left a trail from Egypt to Britain, but it is safe to say that in those days wheeled transport was unknown in Greece; the carriage of goods must have been by pack-animal alone. Horse and chariot figure on the stelai of the Shaft-graves, but the war-chariot certainly came from the East by way of Anatolia, whereas the waggon no less incontestably came from Central Europe where it was invented at a date determinable only within wide limits, *i.e.*, in the centuries immediately before and after 1500. Within this period the bridle-bit essential for the control of the harnessed horse appears for the first time at Tószeg in Hungary.[24] To the same period must be ascribed the substantial remains of two wooden wheels found in the terramara of Mercurago[25]; both are composite, but whereas one is not very far removed from the solid type, the other is of the comparatively elaborate form known for some decades from the second half of the 6th century onwards on Attic and Boeotian vases; the 'Kleinmeister' cup cited above affords an admirable example. Actual remains of a wooden cart are not to be looked for in the soil of Greece; the ruts of the Lion gateway are our first evidence for the transport of goods by waggon in Greece, and may be fairly near the date of its introduction. On their arrival in Greece the men of the Waggon would find their constellation established as the Bear and probably also as the sailor's guide; for though the first Greek-speakers, who represent the Middle Helladic period or Middle Bronze Age, did not venture far abroad, they seem undoubtedly to have navigated the Aegaean or at least its northern half. They must in fact have arrived by sea, for there is no trace of a progress through Thessaly; they must have come, directly or indirectly, from the region north of the Aegaean and come by sea. Nor did commerce cease with their occupation of the mainland. Early Helladic ware, which had been exported from Greece to Troy from a late stage of the First City to the end of the Fifth, gives place in the Sixth (*c.* 1900) to 'Minyan' in all its varieties, presumably imported in part at least from the same source. This is succeeded by the wares of Late Helladic I, II, and III, the most abundant being Mycenaean and Cypriot ware of the early fourteenth century. The destruction of the Sixth City by an earthquake *c.* 1350 B.C. suspended and almost extinguished the traffic.[26] Throughout the period described the traders could have had no better guidance than that of *Arktos*, and from the beginning of L. H. III the promoters of wheeled transport must also have relied on it—but possibly with a difference. It is difficult to see how the name *Amaxa* could have survived at all if the Mycenaeans of L. H. III—the Achaeans—had not maintained it. With such a past record and such actual importance, though the bear could not be ousted, the cart could not be allowed to pass into oblivion, and one accidental circumstance may have contributed to establish the double nomenclature. It is impossible here to trace the sea routes followed by Crete until the extinction of her commerce by Mycenae and the Mycenaean settlements in Miletus, Cos, Rhodes, and elsewhere, but her relations with Ugarit in Middle Minoan days, and subsequently with Byblos and Egypt, shew her familiar with the ports of the Eastern Mediterranean. She had doubtless her own names for the sailor's constellations, but she would probably also learn the Babylonian nomenclature. According to this the name of the Great Bear was *eriqqu* with the meaning of 'waggon'. *Eriqqu*, however, represents the ideogram by which the word is almost invariably represented; there is some reason to think that it was feminine, in which case the full form would be *eriqqatu.* For this *erimmatu* 'necklace', with the ideogram *erimmu*, affords a parallel. If the Mycenaeans either picked up this name and its meaning for themselves as the range of their seafaring extended or, as is perhaps more probable, acquired it from the Minoans in their early contacts with them, they may have associated the word itself with *arktos* and been the readier to accept a compromise. *Amaxa* (to give the word the form common in modern texts of Hesiod) is of uncontested I-E. origin, as is *arktos* and, incidentally, *ursa*, derived by a different line of descent from the same root.

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[23] Schol. *ad* Aristoph. *Lysist.* 645, Bekker, *Anec.* I, pp. 444–5.

[24] C. Hawkes, *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe*, 341.

[25] R. Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, 208, 209, figs. 58, 59. The more advanced type has a diametric bar pierced at the centre with a hole to receive the end of the axle; a pair of cross-pieces are fixed one above, one below the axle-hole and at right angles to the bar.

It is possible to follow with tolerable certainty the course of the seasons and the tasks allotted to them in the *Opera*, though of course precision is not to be looked for in any Farmer's Year; moreover, the year is not yet divided into four equal periods of three months, as we find it in the days of Hippocrates. Hesiod begins by giving us two fixed dates for certain operations, those of the rising (383 ff.) and the setting (615) of the Pleiades; of these the first marks the time of harvest, the second the best date for the sowing, which takes place at the autumn ploughing. Bearing in mind that we have to do with the first visible rising and the last visible setting before sunrise, we may put the rising about May 15th and the setting about November 4th.[27] At the rising the saw-edged sickle is already being rasped in preparation for the harvest; spring, the hungry season, is just over.[28] The acronychal rising of Arcturus (ἀκροκνέφαιος, *Op.* 567) *c.* February 21st means that he now appears as an evening star and shines all night. This is the signal for the pruning of the vines, which should be done before the arrival of the swallow; the date of this event must be variable, but would normally fall within the first half of March. That digging the vineyard was carried on until harvest is implied in 571 ff., but the major event between the appearance of Arcturus and the beginning of harvest is the first ploughing of the fallow, *i.e.*, of the land which has lain idle for the past ten months, ever since it yielded the harvest of the preceding year.[29] This is a heavy job, for which oxen must be used; there can be no doubt that Mazon is right in ascribing its performance to the period preceding harvest and in applying to it the verb βοωτεῖν (391)[30]; the immediately preceding σπείρειν refers to the supreme event of the sowing (and ploughing) in autumn. That the fallow was thrice ploughed between the acronychal rising of Arcturus in February and the onset of winter is certain, though Hesiod does not mention it when he first introduces the theme of ploughing (383 ff.); this is because he is here chiefly concerned to stress the importance of achieving the three supreme and most arduous tasks of the year—the first ploughing, the harvest, the third ploughing when the seed is sown and which in another passage he refers to merely as the sowing (462)[31]—in weather in which a man can work γυμνός, *i.e.*, wearing nothing but his chiton; only if these time limits are observed will the maximum crop be obtained. To the third ploughing he refers once more in the course of his perfunctory remarks on navigation; when the Pleiades set, leave the sea, mindful of the ploughing to be done (618–23), thus he carries our minds back to the programme laid down in 383–4. The second ploughing, a minor operation, comes up for notice in 462, where it is assigned to the season of summer; again Mazon is undoubtedly right in his contention that it was carried out with a team of mules.[32] Mules receive scant attention from Hesiod, but are mentioned near the beginning of the poem (46), where they are coupled with oxen as having comparable functions in agriculture. Our next astronomical date is the rising of Orion, *i.e.* Betelgeuse, the first of his stars to appear above the horizon; this would become visible *c.* July 4th. Now is the time to winnow the corn, measure, store it ἐν ἄγγεσιν [33] and carry it home (597 ff.). This activity, however, should be preceded by a holiday for master and (presumably) man after the fatigues of harvest and when the heat of summer has become formidable (582–96). This should begin when the *skolymos*, a plant of the thistle type, comes into bloom and that, as Theophrastus tells us,[34] is about the time of the summer solstice, which would leave nearly a fortnight's interval before the resumption of work *c.* July 4th. Obviously the five weeks which elapse between May 15th and the solstice are more than sufficient for the harvesting; in the days immediately succeeding its completion the second ploughing must have been done. Only to this ploughing can the statement in the *Iliad* (Κ 531–3) apply that mules are better than oxen at drawing the plough with the implication that they cover the ground more quickly.

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[26] See C. W. Blegen, *BSA* XXXVII 8 ff., 'New Evidence for the Dating of the Settlements at Troy'.

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[27] The following dates are roughly calculated from Hofmann's table, which gives the first visible risings and settings of the stars and constellations in the latitude of Athens and the year 430 B.C.; see *RE* VI cols. 2427–8 (*s.v.* 'Fixsterne'). Owing to the precession of the equinoxes these dates are later than they were in the time of Hesiod. Mazon (*Les Travaux et les Jours*, 96, n. 3) took 750 B.C. as a conventional *floruit* for Hesiod, and advanced the dates of 430 B.C. by five days; as the tendency has since been to reduce this date to 700 B.C. or slightly later, an advance of four days is made in this paper.

[28] *Cf.* Alcman 76 B^4 56 D.

[29] The plough land of each holding was equally divided, and each half bore a crop only once in two years. This was an axiom of Greek farming in the historic period.

[30] *Op. cit.*, 97.

[31] On the shield of Achilles (Σ 541–2) the first and last are selected for representation; νειὸν μαλακήν corresponds to κουφίζουσαν ἄρουραν (*Op.* 463).

The reason given for the exhaustion which necessitates a holiday is interesting. It is Sirius who enfeebles men, parching head and legs (587), reinforcing with his sinister might the natural heat of the summer sun; lagging behind Orion, he will not be visible till *c.* July 24th. Later in the year, when Zeus has drenched the earth with the rains which mark the close of the first part of ὀπώρη and inaugurate the second, μετόπωρον, men feel themselves lightened and go out into the woods to seek timber, for Sirius is no longer over their heads in working hours, but for the most part can be seen in the night sky (417). Hesiod, it may be noted, is perfectly aware that Sirius is not sunk beneath Ocean but invisibly present in the summer sky whence he exercises his baneful influence. Nothing is said about autumn fevers; it is possible that agricultural workers, probably the earliest to bed in any community, escaped the most dangerous hours by being under cover.

The only other mention of Sirius in the *Opera* is coupled with that of Arcturus; when the latter once more (*c.* September 8th) becomes visible before sunrise, Orion and Sirius ' have come into the midst ', Sirius having become visible a little after midnight, lagging some way behind Orion. From Sophocles' herdsman (*O.T.* 1137) we learn that the rising of Arcturus gives the date for bringing down the flocks from the mountain; Hesiod gives it as the date for plucking the grapes and bringing them home. We now see why Arcturus appears in neither *Iliad* nor *Odyssey*. His functions (since for navigation, which would have given him a higher social status, sailors preferred the whole constellation) interest the agricultural community alone. As he is less brilliant than Sirius, he is not likely to figure in a simile in his own right; that is the due of Sirius, dazzling and ominous. His name too is sullied by ignoble use and cannot figure in epic. The faithful Argos of the *Odyssey* has his place in heroic story and affords no parallel; Orion is no more a hero than Bootes. It is in anonymous majesty that Sirius adorns the *Iliad*.

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[32] *Op. cit.*, 111. We find confirmation on the 'Kleinmeister' cup, on which both ox and mule teams are represented ploughing.

[33] Here again the 'Kleinmeister' cup illustrates the poet; a cart drawn by a pair of mules conveys two large pithoi, the regular storage vessels of ancient Greeece.

[34] *HP* VI 4, 4; *cf.* VII 15, 1.

H. L. LORIMER

‘NUMEROUS YEARS OF JOYFUL LIFE’ FROM MYCENAE.

We must bear in mind two fundamental facts, which are basic to the theme of this paper: first, that Egypt more than any other land has influenced the Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation, and second, that the free adaptation and fusion of Egyptian motives is a typical phenomenon of Aegean art and mentality.

Something has already been written about Egyptian influence in the art of the Shaft Graves of Mycenae.[1] I hope to show, in a forthcoming paper, that this connection is even greater, extending its influence not only in art (in just that point the influence is not great), but also and especially in material matters and in deep religious and funerary ideas. Here we will discuss a very well known and ‘curious’ object of early Mycenaean art, the gold and silver pin from the Third Shaft Grave (FIG. 1).

The head of this pin shows a curious representation, which, according to Professor Karo’s description, is the following:[2] a goddess, clad in the usual Minoan fashion, bears upon her head a double ‘*Volutengebilde*’ ending in three papyrus-like flowers at the summit. Three similar plants, but with long stems, bend downwards on each side, bearing only on the outer margin of each a series of foliations. Their ends show on each flower a disc-shaped object (‘fruit’?). Towards this arched object the woman stretches her arms, as if she wished to avoid the weight of the branches. At the same time something like a double chain seems to hang from her outstretched hands.

The subject has been treated by the late Valentin Müller in relation to the Hittite religious world. He concluded that it is a misinterpreted representation showing the Oriental goddess in the act of stripping herself. Here, he believes, we have to do with a mortal woman who, owing to the misinterpreted gesture of the Oriental Goddess, seems to undress herself, while at the same time she is represented fully clad. The branches on either side, he believes, are the misinterpreted arch over the Asiatic Goddess, which may be a canopy or grotto or *aedicula*.

It is clear that a misinterpretation and transformation to such a degree is extremely improbable. That the double object held by the woman (the ‘chain’ of Karo) cannot be a misinterpreted skirt, intended to be drawn up, is shown by the Aegina jewel (see below and FIG. 7), where this enigmatic object reappears, this time with a male figure.[3]

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[1] Prof. A. Persson has dedicated a special chapter (‘Mycenae and Egypt’) to this subject in his book *New Tombs at Dendra*, 1942, 176 f. Criticisms by Helene Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millenium*, 1947, 33 f.

[2] *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenae*, 1930–33, 54–55, no. 75, pl. XXX. Thence our FIG. 1.

I believe, following in the direction taken by the late Sir Arthur Evans, that the chief influence upon almost every aspect of the Minoan-Mycenaean world is that of Egypt. It has been justly remarked that works of Oriental origin found in Aegean territories can be discussed in a page, but on the corresponding Egyptian ones a whole book has been written.[4] Moreover, the fact that in our case we have to do with a papyrus-like combination as chief motive entitles us to look to Egypt for a possible explanation of our representation.

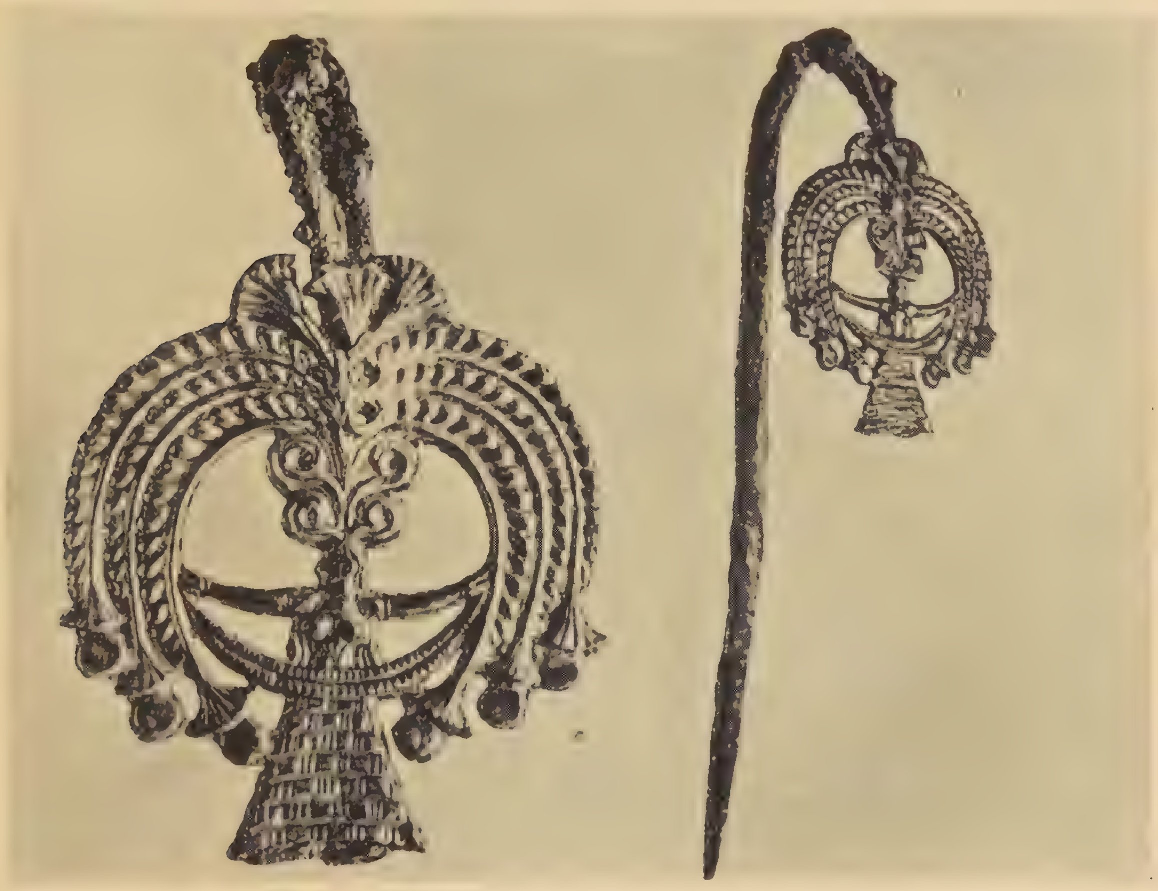

FIG. 1.—GOLD AND SILVER PIN, MYCENAE.

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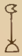
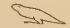
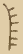
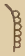
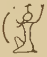
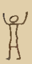
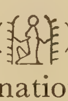
[3] Val. Müller, *AM* XLIII (1918), 153 f. The Aegina treasure, Marshall, *BMC Jewellery*, pl. VII 762 and p. 54. Most recent discussion by Prof. Martin Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (2nd. ed. 1950), 367 and fig. 177.

[4] J. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*. I am glad to see that such an eminent authority as Prof. M. Nilsson propounds the same ideas, *loc. cit.* 8–9.

In connection with that country, the classical one for traditional and elaborately allegoric motives, we have to emphasise the following facts for our present purpose. Among the numerical signs of Egypt, that of ' one thousand ' was represented by the lotus (), which one could see in thousands all over the country; the sign for ' one hundred thousand ' was the tadpole (), which lived in countless numbers in the Egyptian waters. Even for the expression ' a million ' the Egyptians had created a sign. It is in very common use for expressing the wish ' millions of years ', or simply ' innumerable years ', addressed to the kings. It is constituted by a curved object, which bears foliations only on the outer margin ( or ).

On the other hand, a squatting figure with upraised hands () means a ' countless number ', as if to express the idea of a man astonished by a huge quantity. A standing man with similarly upraised hands means ' joy ' (). The sign for ' millions of years ' is represented as a single object, or two symmetrically repeated and held by the squatting man or god (). Some explained it as a palm-branch, but I incline rather to the explanation given by Erman. In the case of kings, he says, it is a reminiscence of the original ' *Kerbstock* ', the primitive wooden stick, upon which the incisions represented the years of the king.[5]

To give a complete picture of the whole Egyptian allegory here involved we choose a gold inlaid pectoral of the Pharaoh Senusert II (FIG. 2). It was found in the grave of Sat-hathor-iunut, daughter of Senusert, at Lahun.[6] The central part shows a ' kneeling man ' (better—because of the beard—a squatting god), holding ' palm-branches ' (better, the double ' *Kerbstock* '), which is our symbol for ' millions of years '. On the outer margin of these two symbols, which bend symmetrically from the top of the head of the god, we see the ' incisions ' representing the years of the king. They have, however, the form of a series of little rounded leaves. On the arm of the god a suspended tadpole represents a further ' hundred thousand years '. The central representation is flanked by two falcons, the symbol of the Sun god Horus. Each bird stands with one foot upon a disc, doubtless the solar disc, while the other foot grasps the symbol ' millions of years '; again upon the heads of the birds is the solar disc in combination with the *uraeus*, from which the symbol of life (*Ankh*) is suspended. The whole means clearly ' hundred thousands and millions of years of life ', and this wish is addressed to the king, whose cartouche stands over the head of the squatting god.

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[5] I must apologise for the almost complete lack of Egyptian books of reference in Athens. I can cite only a few books: Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben* (1923), 396 and 424; Erman, *Die Hieroglyphen* (1917), 15. The sign ' millions of years ', *e.g.* double on the chair of Tutankhamen, H. Schäfer, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst* (1931) pl. 63 (according to Carter-Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankh-amen* pl. 60); *Egyptian Museum of Cairo, A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments* (1946), Tomb of Tutankhamen, no. 378 (mirror case in the form of this symbol). Single, *op. cit.*, nos. 6–9; Erman-Ranke *op. cit.*, 396, fig. 371, thence our FIG. 4*a* below.

[6] The figure and the chief elements of the description are from M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World, The Orient and Greece,* 54 and pl. XIII 1.

Let us return now to the pin of the Third Shaft Grave. We have, I believe, just the same subject, but it was impossible or unnecessary for the Minoan craftsman to enter all the mysteries, which we have described, of the Egyptian allegory. He probably knew about the numerical value of the lotus, but employed the papyrus-flower, because, as we shall see, he had his own reasons.[6a] Three flowers, at the top of the representation, are employed for his purpose. He bends an equal number of flowers on each side to form a symmetrical canopy, which he knew to mean ' millions of years '. It

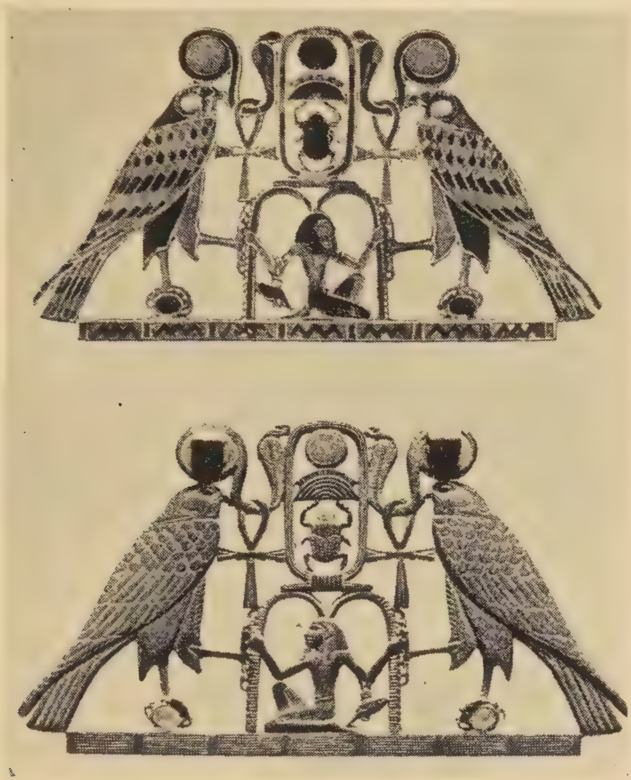

FIG. 2.—PECTORAL OF SENUSERT II, LAHUN.

[6a] Lotus and papyrus are interchangeable even in Egyptian art; sometimes the lotus-complex appears in hybridised forms of lily-shaped flowers. See, for instance, F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* 66, fig. 67.

is extremely interesting that he supplies the stems only on the outer margin with the leaf-shaped ornament of the ‘ *Kerbstock* ’, which he saw in some work like the pectoral of Senusert. It is too detailed an adjunct to be fortuitous in both cases. Furthermore we shall seek for an explanation of the disc-shaped object (the ‘ fruit ’?), because it is not likely that we have to do with the solar disc of the Senusert pectoral.

The figure, a goddess undoubtedly, supports the whole construction with extended and only slightly upraised hands. She is standing, not squatting. This should mean therefore ‘ joy ’, and the whole should be read ‘ Countless joyful years ’.

But to whom is this saecular wish addressed, which, preserved through the Oriental tradition, continues by way of the Scriptures and the Byzantine custom to be in use even to-day? [7] There is an element in our pin which corresponds to the cartouche of the Senusert pectoral. This is the double ‘ volute ’ on the head of the goddess. Spirals, as is well known, play a foremost role among Minoan-Mycenaean decorative motives. We have, therefore, to look carefully whether a symbolical significance here underlies the motive, in keeping with the whole character of the representation.

The ‘ volutes ’, more accurately described, are two superimposed cordiform pairs of converging spirals. The upper pair is broader and its projecting stems enter deep into the centre of the lower pair, touching thus the head of the goddess. From the free space between them some lines emerge, which are clearly the stems of the superimposed as well as the sideways-bending flowers. The whole is a little confused owing to the fluidity of the hammered work and the two rivet-holes as well, through which the silver needle was fastened to the gold head of the pin.

The heart-shaped combination of spirals is of peculiar and, at least in some instances, surely religious importance. The acute eye of Evans followed this motive from the original ‘ *Waz* ’-sign, the symbol of the Egyptian serpent goddess of the Delta, to the ‘ canopied *Waz* ’ and the ‘ Sacral Ivy ’, and finally to the ‘ Ogival Canopy ’ motive of Minoan art.[8] The ‘ *Waz* ’-symbol is originally a papyrus stem and flower with some stylisation, owing to its religious character. Already on XIIth dynasty scarabs it appears with a double scroll like a canopy over it. This is the ‘ canopied *Waz* ’, adaptations of which we find already on early Cretan seal-stones.[9] We meet a parallel version, equally on XIIth dynasty scarabs, in which the double scroll appears under the *Waz*, with upturned spirals. We again have adaptations of the motive in the M.M. and L.M. art and writing (FIG. 3, row 1, *a–e*).[10] In our figure (*a*) is a XIIth dynasty scarab; (*b*) a Zakro sealing; (*c*) a contemporary sealing from Knossos, where the stems of some plants are clearly visible; (*d*) is a sign of the Minoan script of all classes, possibly with the value *wa* or *wo*, where the plant-stem is still clear (' papyrus-tuft ' according to Evans); (*e*) is a bronze ring from Knossos, where the plant (here a lily) stands upon the *Waz*. In this series the central element of the Mycenae pin (*f*) finds its natural place.

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[7] The popular wish on anniversaries is χρόνια πολλά and in some districts the more archaic expression πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. These wishes are of Byzantine origin; see the recent work of Prof. Ph. Kukules, Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός (Athens, 1949) III 315–16. In the Old Testament it is a rule to address kings with expressions like Βασιλεῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῆθι. Δαρεῖε βασιλεῦ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ζῆθι, etc. *Cf.* for instance Daniel v, 10, vi, 6, etc.

[8] *PM* II 480 f., and figs. 287–297.

[9] *PM* I 201, fig. 150*b* and *e*.

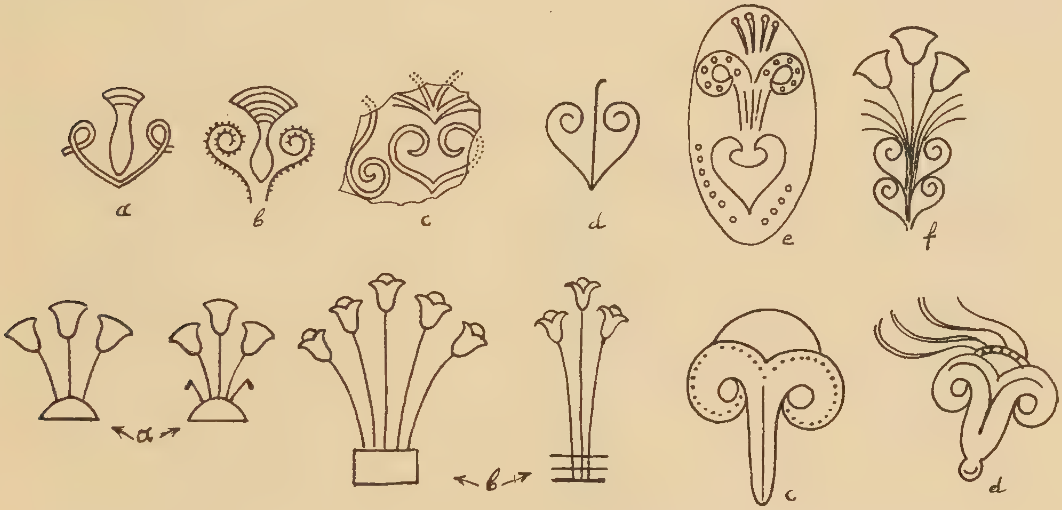

FIG. 3.—EGYPTIAN AND MINOAN FLORAL PATTERNS WITH SYMBOLIC MEANING.

The story of the cordiform scroll does not end here. We see it adorn hybridised forms of lilies in supposed religious scenes, as on the ' Priest-King ' stucco relief. Evans supposed that we have to do with a species of iris, probably the well known *hyakinthos* of the legend.[11] We likewise see the same sign on creatures of possibly symbolic meaning, such as butterflies and octopods.[12] The strong stylisation of these creatures, which is characteristic of the later Palace Style, appears too early here; a religious symbolism is, therefore, possible.[13] On the silver bull-head *rhyton* and on a gold diadem from the Fourth Shaft Grave we meet the heart-shaped sign again.[14] It now seems certain that the scrolls of the pin are not a meaningless ornament; they stand in organic connection with the superimposed plants. The fact that they are double may equally have its significance, as corresponding to the two groups of overlying papyrus-bundles.

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[10] From *PM* I 705, fig. 528*a–b* and 700, fig. 524, this last is there drawn upside down; II 484, fig. 290*g* and IV 319 fig. 259.

[11] *PM* II ii, coloured frontispiece and 786 f.

[12] See the Priest-King relief *loc. cit.*, note 11, and gold petals from the Third Shaft Grave, Karo, *Die Schachtgräber*, pls. XXVII–XXVIII.

[13] *Cf.* the naturalistic octopods, Karo, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII 30–31.

[14] *Op. cit.* pls. CXXI and XXXIX.

From the artistic point of view, the complete representation is not a happy one. The structure of plants is too heavy for the goddess, who, moreover, has no ground upon which to stand. She gives the impression of hanging from the heavy complex she was intended to bear easily upon her head. It is apparent that the artist was faced with too many ideas, which he was obliged to bring into his representation. Curious is the absence of ground for the goddess. One is inclined to believe that the representation was destined originally for another purpose and that its use for the pin is a secondary one.

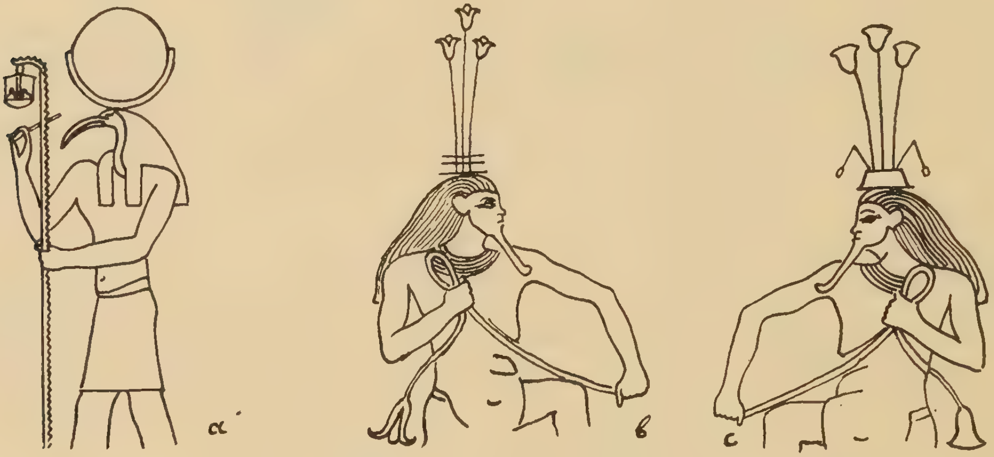

FIG. 4.—EGYPTIAN GODS WITH SYMBOLS.

The two rivet-holes are in an unfitting and not central position, as if they were not intended to be thus originally; it seems that the middle flower at the top was damaged and displaced during the making of the fastening. We see, further, that even the needle of the pin shows peculiar and unusual features (FIG. 1): instead of being fastened behind the representation and on the axis of the goddess, as usually happens with other pins,[15] it is unskilfully bent in its upper part. Had we not the goddess in the representation, the Museum restorers would unhesitatingly straighten the pin. It is almost certain, indeed, that the whole object imitates faithfully the Egyptian sign ‘ Millions of years ’, on the curved end of which we sometimes see a pendant, which would explain the unskilled adaptation to the pin (FIG. 4*a*).[16] One may further ask if the object from the Third Shaft Grave is a pin at all and not

[15] *Cf.* for instance Karo, *Die Schachtgräber*, pl. 26, no. 46.

[16] From Erman-Ranke, *op. cit.*, note 5 above, 396 fig. 171. The god Thut holds the sign in honour of Rameses II; *b* and *c* in FIG. 4 are from Schaefer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, pl. 20.

rather intended to be inserted somewhere, with a ground line for the goddess. The silver pin is channelled on the outer surface—a further unusual characteristic. Unfortunately it is so badly oxidised that it is not possible to distinguish if it once bore the incisions characteristic of the '*Kerbstock*'.[17]

The bundles of papyrus flowers in our representation, as they are of two kinds, give us a clue for further reflections. Let us take first the top group. Three symmetrically arranged papyrus flowers (FIG. 3, row 2, *a*) represent the Egyptian hieroglyph h3, which means 'Land of Lower Egypt'.[18] If the flowers are lily-shaped, but with a disc- or oval-shaped object between the two side-petals (FIG. 3*b*) they mean 'Upper Egypt'. They can be three or five in number. Both shape and number of the flowers of this sign are of great significance for Minoan art, as we shall see soon. Indeed, this motive has been taken over by the Cretans to form splendid adaptations. The wonderful decoration of the lily-vases of Knossos,[19] the magnificent original of which in monumental art we now possess in the frescoes from Amnissos (FIG. 5*a*–*b*), originates from this Egyptian sign.[20] It seems certain that these Minoan adaptations conserved, at least for some time, the

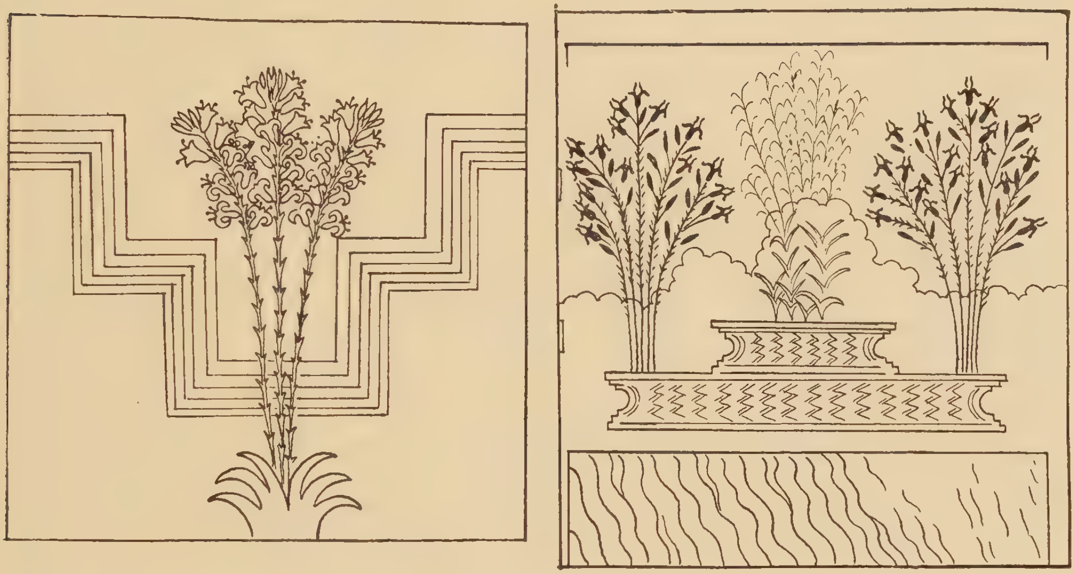

FIG. 5.—FRESCOES FROM AMNISSOS, CRETE.

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[17] Owing to present conditions it is impossible for the time being to examine the original, which is not yet on view in the National Museum of Athens.

[18] (*a*) Erman, *Hieroglyphen* 32; (*b*) Erman-Ranke *op. cit.*, 35, fig. 5, and Schäfer, *Von ägypt. Kunst* pl. 20; (*c*) *PM* II 776, fig. 504b (from the crown of the Priest-King); (*d*) 779, fig. 507 (from a bronze vase of the Palace Hoard).

[19] *PM* I 603, fig. 443.

[20] I found these frescoes (still unpublished) in a M.M. III–L.M. I villa at Amnissos, the harbour-town of Knossos. Our figure is a design from the photographs published by Evans, *PM* IV ii, suppl. pls. LXVII*a*–LXVII*b*.

original Egyptian significance; this is proved by the following interesting fact. The second of the Amnissos frescoes represents bundles of five iris-flowers, emerging from what seem to be elaborate flower-pots. The number, as already mentioned, is equally Egyptian, and the iris-flower is the Minoan adaptation of the lily-shaped flower-sign of Upper Egypt. (Egyptologists do not venture to identify it; sometimes it is called a lily, sometimes an unknown, possibly desert, plant, *Convolvulus arvensis* according to Daressy.) Now it is interesting that the Amnissos pots are decorated with perpendicular zig-zag lines between two horizontal bars ending in concave sides; but this is the Egyptian hieroglyph *mr* ‘ water ’.[21] Monsieur Jean Capart, the well-known Belgian Egyptologist, who was in Athens while the late E. Gillièron was preparing the water-colours of the Amnissos frescoes, was interested in the question. After returning to Brussels among his books he had the kindness to write to me as follows:

> ‘ *La forme des bassins crétois se retrouve dans l'hieroglyphe* 𓈘, *qui est le déterminatif des rivières, lacs et mers* . . . (*Tomb de Ptahhetep à Saqqarah*, N. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep* Pt. I, Londres 1900, pl. XI, no. 218). *Il est extrèmement intéressant de trouver ainsi un hieroglyphe égyptien transformé en image décorative tout en gardant sa signification originale dans la langue égyptienne.* . . .

May we suppose, indeed, that the three-lily or five-iris bundle—this last combined with the sea-sign—means literally ‘ Land of Crete ’, which lies ‘ in the middle of the sea ’, as Egyptians described islands? I think this is quite logical, and the foreign people landing at Amnissos had thus before them, in magnificent decorative compositions, corresponding to analogous hieroglyphic Egyptian inscriptions, the symbol-name of Crete. How easily, however, the Egyptian ideas and motives degenerated in the hands of the Aegean craftsmen, is proved by the electrum cup from the Fourth Shaft Grave, in which the zig-zag lines for sea are substituted in the one basin by spirals and in the other are conserved, but in a form no longer recognisable, unless we have in mind the prototype of Amnissos.[22]

The three-lily combination and the simple lily-flower became one of the commonest and most graceful motives of Minoan art. One can reasonably suppose that at the same time it became the symbol of the island of Crete. This is especially apparent in the case of the so-called ‘ *Waz* ’-lily, which bears a fan-like addition above the petals. I think there is no better explanation than to suppose it an adaptation of the similar flower-symbol of Upper Egypt

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[21] Erman, *Hieroglyphen* 32 (‘ Gewässer ’, ‘ Kanal ’). Schäfer, *Von ägypt. Kunst* 154 remarks that the water is represented by black zig-zag lines on blue ground in Egyptian art. In Amnissos the lines are red, but the ground blue.

[22] See Karo, *Die Schachtgräber*, pl. CXIII.

(FIG. 3, row 2, *b–d*). It is difficult, indeed, to imagine that it is a meaningless object in such ceremonial and official instances as the Priest-King relief (in crown and necklace) [23] or the Griffin-Guardians of the Throne Room. There the crest of these heraldic creatures shows a degenerated but perfectly recognisable form of the ' *Waz* '-lily.[24] A crest of feathers adorns the top ' *Waz* '-lily of the crown of the Priest-King. The types both of simple and crested ' *Waz* '-lily are known from the Third and Fourth Shaft Graves,[25] where, as I hope to show in a forthcoming paper, Minoan princesses were buried, who had married kings of Mycenae. We find the crested lily likewise on royal bronze vases (FIG. 3, row 2, *d*), which, as I have shown elsewhere, served for ceremonial washing of the hands.[26]

The most characteristic instance, however, is the use of the ' *Waz* '-lily as unique element of the Minoan crown. The Minoan kings were well aware of the fact that the two crowns of their ' brothers ' in Egypt, the White and the Red, represented Upper and Lower Egypt, and that the Double Crown represented both. They knew also that animals and plants, which were the symbols of the country (Uto, Sechmet, papyrus, and ' lily '), were represented upon the heads of kings and gods in Egypt (*cf.* FIG. 4*b–c*). The Minoan ' *Waz* '-lily, therefore, on their crown, almost certainly had the significance ' Land of Crete ', as once in its Egyptian form it had the significance of Upper, that is, South Egypt. The lily-necklace had the same significance, according to the analogous symbolism of Egyptian necklaces.

On the pin from the Third Shaft Grave we see that the difference between the top and the side flowers is that the latter bear the disc-shaped element (the ' fruit '). From the facts adduced above it is clear that the top three-fold-papyrus bundle is an invariable imitation of the similar sign for Lower (= North) Egypt, while the side-bundles are an adaptation of the sign corresponding to Upper (= South) Egypt and to the ' *Waz* '-lily of Crete. The sole difference is that they did not use the lily-shaped flower, but the same papyrus-like flower of the top bundle, to which they added the disc (perfectly round here) which characterises the flower for ' Upper Egypt '.

Both these floral motives emerge from the cordiform ' *Waz* ' element, which is double here. Now we understand why. The one is for the top flowers, *i.e.* ' North ', the other for the side element, *i.e.* ' South ' land. The ' *Waz* ' is the symbol of Uto, the serpent-goddess of the Delta. Here it figures as a symbol of the Minoan Goddess, a sister deity of Uto, as Evans has pointed out.[27] Even at Mycenae the later successor of this goddess on the ruins of the palace was indeed the serpent-goddess Athena. Thus the two floral elements, similar but differentiated through the disc, have each a special meaning. The side element (' South ' according to its Egyptian original) means ' Crete '; the top element (' North ' according to the same source) must mean ' Mycenae '. Geographically speaking both symbols maintained their meaning, just as we see them on the heads of Egyptian gods (FIG. 4).

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[23] *PM* II ii, coloured frontispiece and 775, fig. 504 f.

[24] *PM* IV 991, fig. 884.

[25] Karo, *Die Schachtgräber*, pl. XXI 23, XXVII 79, XLIV 378 etc.

[26] *PM* II ii, 779, fig. 507; *BCH* LIII (1929), 378 f.

[27] *PM* II 480.

The double ' chain ' in the hands of the goddess remains the most obscure object of the whole representation. We see two objects very similar to the wooden bow. Both ends of each object are carefully rounded and polished like handles; the rest of the surface is covered by a series of lines, which may be accurately described as incisions. The same motive appears on the similar objects in the Aegina jewel (FIG. 7). These incisions have nothing to do with the elaborate Minoan-Mycenaean ornamentation. One may search in vain for a parallel among the whole treasure of the Shaft Graves.[27a] One explanation seems at least reasonable. We have before us an additional adaptation of the Egyptian ' *Kerbstock* ', upon which the years of the king were registered by means of these incisions. In addition to the foliated motive upon the papyrus stems, incised wooden sticks are employed here. The reduplication of the object is a repetition of the wish for the two lands. Thus the whole representation appears as an elaborate symbol, which expresses the wish for happiness and long years for kingdoms and kings; it symbolises equally the union of the South and North kingdoms of the Aegean in friendly connections, doubtless through marriages. The floral symbols have been taken from Egypt in the same geographical connection. The whole may be read as follows: ' Countless joyful years to the Kingdoms and to the Royal Houses of Crete and Mycenae '.[28]

I believe that it is possible to follow further this representation in a simpler form. Indeed, the chief symbol, freed from the complementary designs and turned upside down, appears on a series of intaglios down to the latest Mycenaean period.[29] All these objects have most recently been discussed by Prof. Martin Nilsson.[30] He rightly concludes that ' at all events the object is here a motif transmitted from an older age and perhaps not wholly understood '. He adds further that it appears as a characteristic attribute of the ' Goddess of the Animals '.

[27a] *Cf.* Karo, *Die Schachtgräber*, 258–9 for analogous observations.

[28] In the chronological background of our pin, soon after 1600 B.C., the wish for union was an ardent one in Egypt, just after the expelling of the Hyksos. For the whole symbolical meaning in our pin and for the fact that even in elaborate Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions a whole allegory is sometimes hidden, which goes far beyond the signs employed, see the interesting remarks of Schäfer, *Von ägypt. Kunst* 266: '*Symbolik . . . nicht . . . mit Worten wiedergegeben zu werden, sondern liegt für einen besinnlichten Leser wie hübsches Rankenwerk zwischen den Zeilen*'. I must further add that, in a forthcoming paper, I hope to show further connections between the Shaft Grave dynasty and Egypt. The abundance of gold in Mycenae can be explained only by these connections, as well as a number of Egyptian beliefs. The kings buried in Mycenae fought on the Egyptian side against the Hyksos. As they became rich and glorious, they married Minoan princesses. Hence the presence of the strong Minoan element in the Shaft Graves.

[29] I have pointed out this possibility already in 1928 in a note to my paper 'Γοργόνες καὶ Γοργόνεια' *AE* 1927–8, 37–41; *cf.* 30, note 1.

[30] *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 2nd ed., 360–68.

This sign, according to the facts set forth above, must mean in its new form simply ' Land of Crete '. It consists indeed of the bent floral element of the pin only, free from the foliated element ' Millions of years '. As this last was responsible for the down-bending of the flowers, to imitate the corresponding Egyptian sign, it was possible to set the flowers erect, just as in the case of the Egyptian parallels on the heads of gods (FIG. 4*b–c*). On the head of the Cretan Goddess the land-symbol appears in a series of gems. Two of them are known from Mycenae (the best of the series found by Prof. Wace), one from Knossos, one from Psychro (FIG. 6), one from Ialysos, and one in the museum in Kassel. In all these cases the Goddess holds the symbol upon her head with both hands and is accompanied by lions or griffins, animals characteristically heraldic. Another prominent religious and heraldic emblem of Crete, the double axe, appears in some instances over the symbol. It may possibly be the more special emblem of the Knossian district.

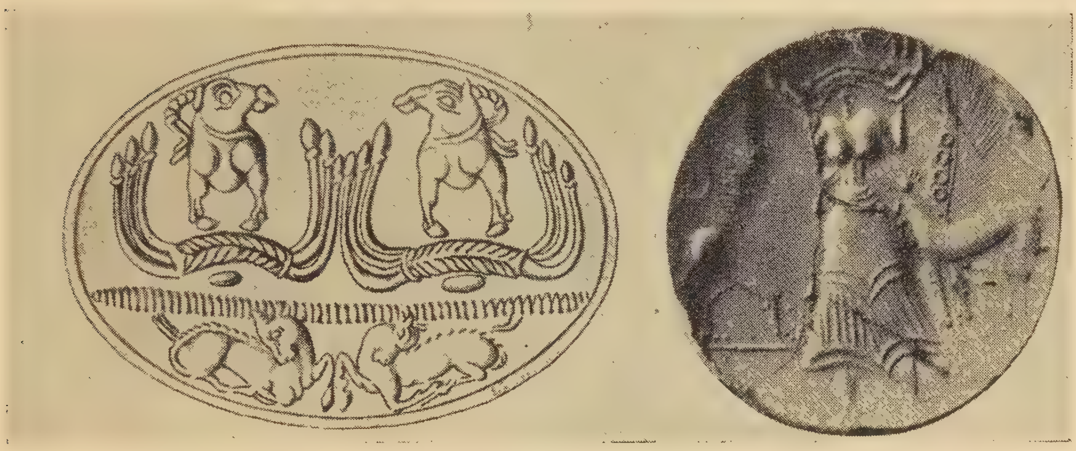

Fig. 6.—Gold Ring from Midea and Gem from Psychro.

In a further series of works the symbol appears detached from the Goddess, sometimes with additional emblems other than the double axe; these works are the gold ring of Midea (FIG. 6) and some sealings from Zakro. For reasons which escape us the object is twice repeated on the Midea ring. The four animals may indicate the absent Goddess. The two chief of them (in the place of the double axe in the previously mentioned cases) are clearly rams, as Evans rightly observed.[31] They are stylised and antithetical, apparently heraldic, and they may symbolise either something peculiar to Midea or some palatial district of Crete different from that symbolised by the double axe. The emblem 'Land of Crete', as we see, was well to the fore, while that of Mycenae, the three-fold papyrus bundle, seems to have been forgotten, unless further discoveries supply us with new material.

Finally, a series of seal-impressions from Zakro [32] shows, in the usual free and fantastic style of this deposit, the same object in company with bucrania or birds or a lion's head. In one instance the solar disc appears over the symbol.

Usually the symbol appears double, but in the case of the gems of Psychro (FIG. 6) and Knossos it is triple,[33] as on the Midea-ring as well. This may have a significance, which escapes us now. Several explanations have been proposed (snakes, bows), but if one bears in mind the supposed prototype, the pin from Mycenae, everything is clear. The supposed heads of snakes are the terminal discs of the flowers in the pin, though elongated; the flowers proper are greatly reduced, but have not wholly disappeared. This is apparent on the finer works of the series, the two gems from Mycenae and the Midea ring. This latter, moreover, gives us the precious indication that the triple objects are plaited together in the middle. This clearly indicates that we have to do with plants, as recognised by Prof. Persson in agreement with myself.[34] The modern Greek peasants fasten together onions, garlic, and other products by their leaves in just the same manner, selling them thus as 'tresses' (πλέκτρες or πλεξίδες).

The double object ('chain') of the pin from Mycenae reappears only on the degenerate stone in Kassel [35] and, still later, on the pendant from Aegina.[36] Here (FIG. 7) it emerges behind the god, and takes the form of the head-symbol of the goddess. The incisions are more than clear. The creatures are here birds. The flowers—here clearly lotus—and the discs upon them, are likewise present. Even the structure upon the head of the god seems to take the form of scrolls, but everything is here decomposed and confused. It is clear that only a vague reminiscence, if any at all, is preserved from the original prototype. Before any further discussion we must learn something about the origin of this curious piece.

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[31] *PM* IV 171 and note 2. More generally they may be called horned sheep; they are frequently represented on Minoan-Mycenaean works.

[32] One is mentioned by Nilsson *op. cit.*, 364, fig. 176. I have added three others, *AE* 1927–8, 30, note 1 (inset). *Cf. PM* IV 174, fig. 136.

[33] See the Knossos gem in *PM* IV 170, fig. 133*a*.

[34] See his *Royal Tombs at Dendra* 56. It is interesting, however, that some lines similar to plait-work appear on stems of the Egyptian '*Waz*'-symbol; *PM* II 480, fig. 287*c*.

[35] Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 363, fig. 174. Cf. *PM* IV 169, fig. 132.

[36] Some people believe that this curious treasure belongs to post-Mycenaean times, so F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriech. Kunst* 60. I am unable to decide, but the Mycenaean spirit seems still existent in this work.

Elaborate symbolic art as well as a great conservatism are the peculiar features of both the Orient and Egypt. Their study has already yielded excellent results. In Minoan-Mycenaean art, the chief quality of which is unceasing transformation, it is reasonable to expect a far less symbolic character; but it must exist. The more a representation appears curious, the more it is probable that something is hidden in it. The series of works we have discussed above belongs just to this category. Many a work must be studied after a similar fashion. Even if we fail in some details, the chief line seems to be a well-founded fact.

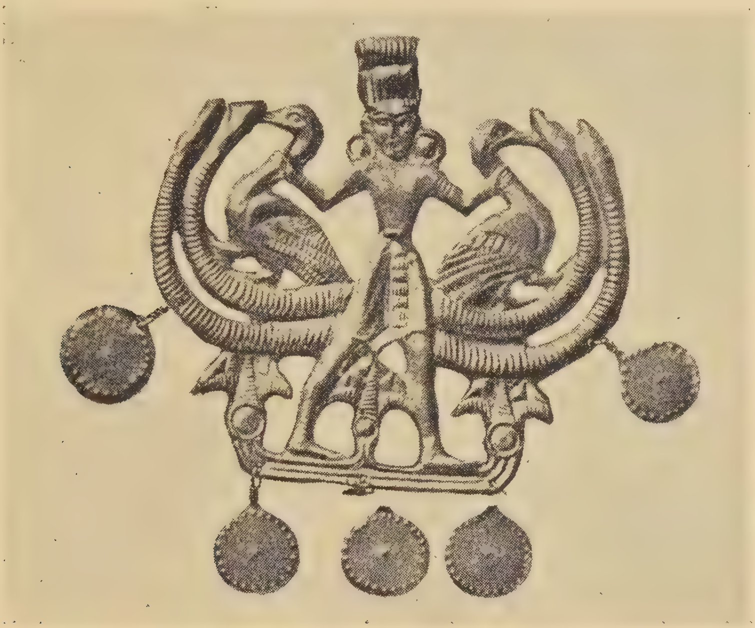

FIG. 7.—GOLD PENDANT FROM AEGINA.

A few last words are still necessary. The motives we have tried to explain belong to what may be called the early floral world of Aegean art. This art makes the most abundant use of graceful floral motives, and this, too, may be an Egyptian influence. It is a well-known fact that in primitive cultures we never meet flower decoration. On the other hand the Egyptologists tell us that the Egyptians discovered flower ornamentation to the world,[37] and that in early periods (in the Old and even the Middle Kingdom) we seldom meet flowers without a deeper significance. The flowers which stand for

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[37] H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst* 28 and 281, note 12, where further references on the subject will be found.

Upper and Lower Egypt belong to this class. Only during the New Kingdom does the floral form become an element of pure decoration.

This is apparently the case, with a correspondence of dates, for Minoan art, but through a speedy process familiar to the Aegean. After uncertain gropings during the M.M. period, we see the forward impetus of the floral style during the ' New Era ' of the M.M. III–L.M. I period. It is reasonable to expect that the archaic floral style, best represented at Amnissos (and in the lily-frescoes of Knossos, Phylakopi, and Thera), contains much of symbolic and religious allegory. A little later, and under the influence of the XVIIIth Dynasty Egyptian art, this elementary stage of Cretan art is enriched through the animal-world and through the apotheosis of the decorative floral composition. Parallel is the abandonment of symbolism. Thus the frescoes of Amnissos or the lily-vases from Knossos may literally mean ' Land of Crete ' and ' Product of Crete ' respectively. But the Haghia Triadha frescoes or the Marseilles ewer mean no more than ' Creto-Mycenaean art '. In a few cases, however, the early symbolic character of some motives seems to have lasted down to the last days of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation.[38]

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[38] The literary tradition may prove helpful in such an investigation. Thus the double sign and the two rams on the Midea ring may be connected with the peculiar tradition of that town. The two kings, Atreus and Thyestes, inhabited Midea originally (Apollodorus II 4, 6). The story of a golden lamb is connected with them (see Cook, *Zeus* I 407), and even in the time of Pausanias a ram or rams stood on the alleged tomb of Thyestes (Paus. II 18. *Cf.* the commentary of Sir J. Frazer in his *Pausanias* and in his *Apollodorus*, II p. 164 (Loeb).)

THE TOMB OF PORSENA AT CLUSIUM

The Elder Pliny [1] quotes Varro's description of the Tomb of Porsena:

Sepultus sub urbe Clusio, in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato quadratum: singula latera pedum lata tricenum, alta quinquagenum: in qua basi quadrata intus labyrinthum inextricabilem: quo si quis improperet (*introire properet* v.) *sine glomere lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum pyramides stant quinque, quattuor in angulis, et in medio una, imae latae pedum septuagenum quinum* (*latae pedum quinum; ita fastigatae ut in summo aeneus petasus omnibus sit impositus* M), *altae centenum quinquagenum, ut in summo orbis aeneus et petasus unus omnibus sit impositus, ex quo pendeant exapta catenis tintinnabula, quae vento agitata longe sonitus referant, ut Dodonae olim factum. Supra quem orbem* (*supraque orbem*) *quattuor pyramides insuper singulae stant altae pedum centenum. Supra quas uno solo quinque pyramides, quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adicere; fabulae Hetruscae tradunt eandem fuisse, quam totius operis: adeo vesanam dementi quaesisse gloriam impendio, nulli profuturo. Praeterea fatigasse regni vires, ut tamen* (*tantum* v.) *laus maior artificis esset.*

This amazing pagoda has defeated the commentators, and confused the scribes, perhaps even Varro himself. His reference to *fabulae Hetruscae* shows that even if he had seen the remains of the monument, he was partly dependent on hearsay. The Hebrew descriptions of Solomon's Temple—still more the Septuagint and Vulgate renderings of them—show how easily inexpert writers fail to find words and phrases for technical processes and works of art.[2] But the chief causes of error are known from that example, and may be detected here too. And there are better sources here for archaeological comparisons, both in Etruria, and in the region of Western Anatolia from which the Etruscans seem to have come to Italy.

To take Varro's statements in order:

(1) There is a rectangular base or plinth of masonry three hundred feet square and fifty feet high. Such pedestal tombs, but smaller, are frequent in Etruscan cemeteries, associated with circular monuments enclosed in a stone plinth, and piled with earth and stones over one or more chambers [3]: and these in turn with very numerous tumuli without plinth, most of which are still unexplored.[4] The whole series belongs to the centuries from the ninth to the sixth, though burials went on in the larger tombs till the fourth.

(2) The monument could be entered, but was dark and full of passages

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[1] *N.H.* XXXVI 13.

[2] Myres, *PEQ* 1948, 14–41.

[3] Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924, *passim.*

[4] *Loc. cit.*, 141.

like a maze—evidently tomb-chambers, but complicated by the substantial foundations of the 'pyramids' above. Instead of the tumulus of the smaller monuments, there must have been a paved stone roof, and this needed stone joists and supports between the 'pyramids'. The nearest extant parallels are the ruinous 'Cucumella' tomb at Vulci, and the 'Tomba del Poggio Gaiella' near Chiusi, which some have thought to be the Tomb of Porsena himself, though it was certainly circular.

The 'Cucumella' at Vulci was constructed around a natural hummock of rock. Its plinth, of which a section remained in 1829, was about two hundred and thirty feet in diameter—comparable therefore with Porsena's three hundred feet: the mound was about sixty feet high. Within were two towers of undressed masonry, projecting above the mound but not intended to be exposed: one was cylindrical, the other slightly tapering. Being irregularly spaced, they probably remain from a group of five or more.[5]

The 'Mausoleo' at Corneto is the best preserved of the circular tombs; its well-moulded plinth-wall is about six feet high. The 'Castel d'Asso'[6] is cut into a hummock of rock, and is loftier.

Monuments at Orvinium described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[7] had pedestals and mounds. Similar architectural details, with a cornice as in circular tombs at Vetulonia, may be securely supplied here. In the diagram these are drawn beyond the measured wall-face.

The only comparable series of monuments, either for design or for number, is in Lydia and Caria, with hundreds of mere tumuli, less numerous burial mounds with stone plinth and chambers, and around Halicarnassus, circular monuments with high outer wall, cornice, and ground-floor entrance, but corbel-vaulted within, with three or more side chambers in the thickness of the wall, and at Ghiukchalar an upper row of such chambers, with access by a staircase in the thickness of the party wall of the lower row. Outranging the rest, like the Tomb of Porsena in Etruria, is the vast 'Tomb of Alyattes' near Sardis, described by Herodotus,[8] about three quarters of a mile in circumference, with plinth, built tomb-chamber, and earthen mound (now much spread by rain-wash), crowned by five *ouroi* 'boundary-stones', knob-headed, of which enough is preserved to confirm their shape. This type of tumulus, with stone plinth and corbel-vaulted chamber, is peculiar to the western lowlands of Lydia and Caria,[9] though less specialized burial mounds are widespread from the Hellespont to Phrygia.

As the main series of these West-Asiatic tombs lasts from the seventh century or earlier to the fifth or fourth, it does not need much imagination to detect its essentials (lateral entrance, high plinth, and central mound) beneath the Hellenic façades, cornices, built pyramid, and standing portrait-statues—the *ouroi* come to life—of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. But it is the ‘ Tomb of Alyattes ’ which more nearly concerns us here.

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[5] Canina, *Etruria Marittima* II pl. cvii; Martha, *L'Art étrusque*, 205, fig. 159. Since excavation in 1829 it has quite disappeared. Full bibliography in Martha.

[6] Martha, *loc. cit.* 159, fig. 126 ('Castel d'Asso'), 203, fig. 158 ('Mausoleo').

[7] I 14.

[8] I 93.

[9] W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, *JHS* XVI 188–270, esp. 270 and figs. 39, 51 (square), figs. 22, 26 (round).

(3) Above the rectangular plinth emerge five ‘ pyramids ’ each seventy-five feet wide at the platform level and one hundred and fifty feet high, tapering—to what upper diameter is not stated, and each surmounted by a *petasus* and *orbis* in bronze. These are easily restored; the only question is as to their diameter. The ‘ pyramids ’ can hardly have been less than ten feet in diameter at the top, and may well have been twenty feet. The *petasus* must have overhung by some ten feet, to allow the hanging bells to swing free: the diameter of the *petasus* must therefore have been thirty to forty feet, and that of the *orbis* not less than twenty feet. Both must have had bronze plating on a wooden frame.

These ‘ pyramids ’ have developed out of solid stone *ouroi*, like those of the ‘ Tomb of Alyattes ’. The intermediates are the ‘ cones ’ and hemispherical blocks, sometimes of stone brought from a distance, which are found in tumuli at Vetulonia.[10] As they must have had foundations to rock-level, their height may have been reckoned thence, but more probably from the point where they emerged from the platform.[11]

So far the description is of the same class of monument as the ‘ Tomb of Aruns ’, near Albano, where the five ‘ pyramids ’ are conical, and crowd each other, completely filling the platform, which is nearly a cube with prominent plinth and cornice.

(4) The hanging bells, clearly fringing the *petasi*, illustrate a widespread device for averting evil spirits. Varro compares the suspended cauldrons at Dodona; but closer parallels are the bells on the harness of the Thracian Rhesus,[12] and on a shield from the ‘ Tomba del Guerriero ’,[13] the clattering tongues of the snakes on the ‘ Shield of Heracles ’,[14] and the bells on the tent-poles in the tombs of Scythian chiefs.[15]

(5) It is with the superstructure of the ‘ pyramids ’, and especially of the central ‘ pyramid ’, that Varro's description becomes obscure. He has already written *in summo* referring to the ‘ pyramids ’ which are feminine: he now writes *uno solo*, which should mean ‘ on one alone ’, though it might mean ‘ on one ground ’ or ‘ level ’. If the latter, he must be repeating his original description of the five pyramids on their platform. But he has just

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[10] Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, 122–3.

[11] A square pedestal tomb at Vulci is crowned by a single pyramid, Martha, *op. cit.*, 213, fig. 163.

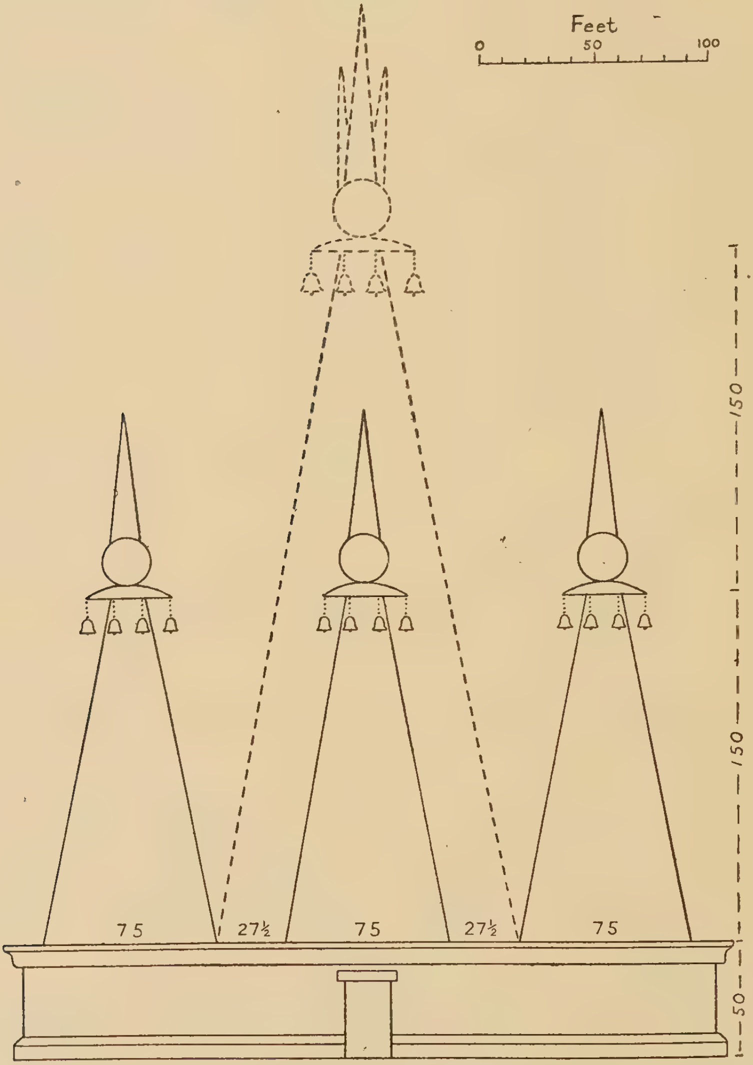
[12] Eur., *Rhesus*, 290–307.

[13] O. Montelius, *La Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, pl. 267, 6*A*.

[14] J. L. Myres, *JHS* LXI 25–6.

[15] E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia* (1913), 154, fig. 41 (Alexandropol), 186, fig. 79 (Volkovtsy), 183, fig. 76 (Romny).

written that *supra . . . orbem quattuor pyramides insuper singulae stant*, which must mean that each of the four 'pyramids' at the angles—taking no account of the central one—had another 'pyramid' crowning its *orbis*. This is quite possible, if this upper 'pyramid' was more like an obelisk, or a terminal spike; though they can hardly have been *altae pedum centenum*, unless they were mere masts.



The Tomb of Porsena at Clusium (according to Varro's dimensions).

(6) This, however, leaves the central 'pyramid' incomplete. If *uno solo* means 'on one alone', this may have carried a cluster of five such masts.

And there is this to suggest that the sentence does refer to this central pyramid. If it was only of the same height as the four corner pyramids, it would have been dwarfed by them; and, moreover, would have been too small for the central space. For the platform being three hundred feet square, and the corner pyramids seventy-five feet square at platform level, unless they were placed very far back from the edge of the platform, there would have been an excessive interval between them: if they were set ten feet back from the wall face of the platform, the distance between their inward angles would be one hundred and thirty feet.

Now if the base of the central ' pyramid ' filled this central rectangle, and its sides were inclined at the same angle as those of the other four ' pyramids ', its height would be about equal to that of the whole monument—*eandem fuisse quam totius operis*, which is what Varro reports, though he does not believe it. This height would be about the same also as the length and breadth of the platform.

On the *orbis*, moreover, of this double-size ' pyramid ', there would be room, as Varro's phrase suggests, for a cluster of five ' pyramid-spikes ' *uno solo*, all rising from the same *orbis*.

Here is at all events a reconstruction which finds room for each of Varro's separate data. What is least disputable, because easiest to verify, even if the monument was ruinous, was the length—three hundred feet—of the plinth. But the ' Cucumella ' is comparable (two hundred and thirty feet), and the other dimensions are proportionate, even if they pass belief. Had Varro perhaps mistaken the scale of a drawing, as Herodotus did with the ' Sesostris ' relief in the Karabel Pass above Ephesus,[16] but in the other direction?

John L. Myres

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[16] II 106.

THE SICKLE OF KRONOS

The sickle, as attribute of Kronos, was considered by certain scholars to be the sickle with which the corn is reaped, and this would be a reliable argument for the opinion that Kronos was from of old a god of the harvest.[1] Recently W. Staudacher has advanced the opinion that the *harpe*, as the Greek word is, is a sickle-shaped sword of Oriental origin, and uses this as an argument for deriving the myth of the separation of Heaven and Earth from the Orient[2]; but he has not succeeded in proving his thesis. I have expressed doubt that the *harpe* of Kronos was a sickle, and said that it may have been a sword, but I have also called attention to the fact that the *harpe* is said by Hesiod to be provided with sharp teeth,[3] being reminded of certain implements from the Neolithic Age in which sharp chips of flint are inserted in a stick of bone or wood, as in *e.g.* harpoons.[4] The significance of the word καρχαρόδους is aptly illustrated by two Homeric passages[5]; it is used of dogs, which catch their prey: having sharp teeth. That I come back to the subject may be excused because of my overlooking certain archaeological material which presents a much more relevant, in fact striking, comparison and warrants a more certain judgment on the problem.

There is another instrument, much more relevant to the question than the harpoon, which was used in prehistoric as well as in historic times, namely the sickle used for reaping corn.[6] Such sickles are very widely distributed in prehistoric times. In the Neolithic Age the sickle was a blade of flint provided with a shaft, or resembled the Egyptian sickles mentioned below. Examples are found in Denmark, in Switzerland, and in Egypt.[7] In the Old Kingdom the sickle was a piece of curved wood: on the interior of its curve small sharp flint chips were inserted into the wood. This primitive sickle was still used in the Middle and New Kingdoms too.[8] From the Bronze Age sickles made of bronze are found all over Central and Northern Europe. Three were found at Troy by Schliemann, but unfortunately their age cannot be determined.[9] These sickles were sometimes provided with teeth. The Danish finds are described as follows.[10] They are sickle-shaped pieces of bronze with an edge on the concave side. If the implement is well preserved and not too much worn it often has teeth, and sometimes shows traces of filing on one side. These objects cannot be saws, for they have one or more mouldings on one side parallel with the edge; the blade of a saw must be of equal thickness, or it is useless. They are sickles used for reaping corn, and their prototypes were probably made of flint.

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[1] There are many other interpretations of the sickle upon which it is superfluous to enter. They are recorded in the valuable article 'Kronos' by Max. Mayer in Roscher, II 1544.

[2] W. Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde*, 1942, 69.

[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 175 and 180: ἅρπην καρχαρόδοντα; Homer, *Iliad* XVIII 551, ἤμων ὀξείας δρεπάνας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες is equivocal.

[4] In my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I 483 ff.

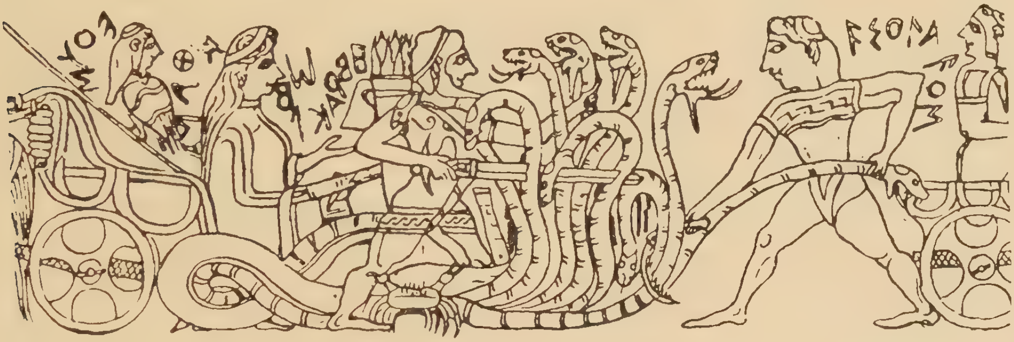
[5] *Iliad* X 360: καρχαρόδοντε δύω κύνε εἰδότε θήρης; XIII 198: δύ' αἶγα λέοντε κυνῶν ὑπὸ καρχαροδόντων ἁρπάξαντε.

[6] See M. Ebert, *Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte* XII 72. A. Oldeberg, 'Some Contributions to the Earliest History of the Sickle', *Acta archaeologica* III (1932), 209, treats especially of the Stone Age in Scandinavia.

[7] Gertrud Caton-Thompson, *The Desert Fayoum*, London, 1934

[8] H. Kees, *Kulturgesch. d. alten Orients*, I, *Ägypten* (*Handbuch d. Altertumswiss.*), 36, says: *Der Schnitt erfolgte mit den primitiven hölzernen Sicheln, in die zur Schärfung Feuersteinsplitter eingezogen wurden, und zwar stets so, dass der Halm stehenbleibt, also möglichst wenig Stroh geerntet wird.*

To understand why teeth were to the purpose in a reaping instrument we must realise the ancient method of reaping, which was different from ours, and known also from Classical Antiquity. The stalks were collected and grasped with the left hand, and the bundle was cut off near to the ears with the sickle held in the right hand. In such a procedure a toothed instrument was desirable.[11] Sickles from the Roman age are preserved in some number; thus, with teeth of various forms, they have been found at Pompeii.[12] That they were provided with teeth is known from literature also.[13] Unhappily I do not know if any are found in classical Greece, for certain reasons have prevented me since many years from visiting the museums, and such simple finds are little noticed by archaeologists. The Greeks seem not to have de-



IOLAUS WITH THE TOOTHED SICKLE.
(After A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III 796, fig. 597.)

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[9] H. Schliemann, *Ilios*, 674, figs. 418–420; *cf.* W. Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 394.

[10] H. C. Broholm, *Danmarks Bronzealder*, II, 173 with pl. 35.

[11] See the quotation from Kees, above p. 122, n. 8. Sometimes an instrument similar to a fork (*merga*) or a comb was used to collect the stalks, see H. Wagenvoort, *De Maiersvase van Hagia Triada, Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch historisch Instituut te Rome*, 2 ser., IV (1934). *Cf.* also the quotations from Columella and Varro below, n. 13.

[12] *DS* s. v. 'Falx', II 2, 970, figs. 2869 and 2870.

[13] Columella II 20, 3: *multi falcibus veruculatis atque iis vel rostratis vel denticulatis medium culmen secant, multi mergis, alii pectinibus spicam ipsam legunt.* Varro, de re rust., I 50: *altero modo metunt, ut in Piceno, ubi ligneum habent incurvum bacillum, in quo sit extremo serrula ferrea. Haec cum comprendit fascem spicarum, desecat et stramenta stantia in segeti relinquit, ut postea subsecentur. Tertio modo metitur, ut sub urbe Roma et locis plerisque, ut stramentum medium subsicent, quod manu sinistra summum prendunt.* A soldier reaping corn is represented on the column of Trajan.

posited utensils of daily life in tombs.[14] As a weapon the *harpe* is seen in vase paintings in the hands of Herakles, Zeus, and the Pygmies in their combats with, respectively, the Lernaean Hydra, Typhon, and the Cranes. In these representations it is often provided with teeth.[15] Teeth are not suitable for an effective weapon, they are taken over from the instrument. Iolaus cuts the snake-bodies of the Hydra as a reaper cuts the stalks of the corn. In other paintings the *harpe* has the shape of the gardener's knife, with which we are not concerned here.

No doubt Hesiod understood the *harpe* as the instrument for reaping corn as I remarked *loc. cit.* (note 4 above). He uses this word when exhorting the farmer at the beginning of the harvest to whet the sickles,[16] and instead of this word he uses elsewhere the synonymous word *drepanon*.[17] Thus I think we have a well-founded explanation of the curious epithet of the sickle: ‘ sharp-toothed ’. Unfortunately archaeological materials from Greece are wanting to me, but perhaps others, who know the small objects of daily life better than I, can fill the gap. But as the sickle for reaping corn is so widespread since prehistoric times and in the Roman age, and as it is provided with teeth in Greek vase paintings, it seems certain that the epithet ‘ provided with sharp teeth ’ denotes the *harpe* as the sickle used for reaping corn.

Thus the old opinion that the attribute of Kronos shows him to be an old god of the harvest is proved by well-founded arguments. Why the other well-known myths were associated with him is a problem upon which I will not enter here.[18]

MARTIN P. NILSSON

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[14] The sickle given as a prize at the festival of Artemis Orthia at Sparta is rather a gardener's knife, which also is sickle-shaped.

[15] *E.g.*, the teeth appear very clearly on a Corinthian vase, figured by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III 796, fig. 597; Iolaus cuts off one of the bodies of the Hydra with a toothed sickle.

[16] Hesiod, *Opera* 573: ἅρπας τε χαρασσέμεναι.

[17] Hesiod, *Theogony* 162.

[18] I mentioned in *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I 486, n. 2 that Forrer derives the myth of the emasculation of Ouranos from the Hittite myth of Kumarbi. This has been taken up with better arguments by H. Güterbock, *Kumarbi Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (*Istanbuler Schriften*, No. 16), Zürich, 1946, and ‘ The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod ’, *AJA* LII (1948), 123; a lengthy review by A. Götze, *Journ. of the Amer. Oriental Soc.*, LXIX (1949), 178.

GARTERS—QUIVER ORNAMENTS?

(PLATE 13)

With the knowledge we now possess of the Mycenaean civilisation, obtained not least through examination of the Mycenaean tombs and their rich contents, it seems to me that the present is the time to take note not only of those objects found in the tombs, but also of those which are missing and which one would expect to find. Because of the apparent absence of lamps, I was able to point out that an earthenware object which was earlier taken for a drinking vessel or a scoop was probably a clay lamp.[1] In the relatively dark tomb chambers artificial light was undoubtedly needed, especially in secondary burials, when the whole wall blocking the doorway was not removed, but a small opening, made in the upper part of the filling, sufficed for the introduction of the corpse into the tomb. Careful examination of the *dromos* and the wall blocking the doorway have proved that in many cases such a procedure took place. In the larger and richer tombs excellent stone lamps have been found. The occurrence of such lamps in the more pretentious tombs gave me the idea of looking for clay ones in the ordinary tomb chambers.

In the Mycenaean tombs weapons of various kinds are found in abundance, swords, daggers, helmets, arrow-heads, etc. Arrow shafts and quivers, which were made of more perishable materials, *i.e.* wood or leather, have as a rule completely disintegrated. When, however, one observes the rich ornamentation of the weapons in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, the question must be asked whether the quivers also were not embellished with designs in a precious metal in these remarkable royal tombs. Probably in the common tombs carved or embossed designs were used on wood or leather receptacles.

In an examination of the rich finds from the Shaft Graves one notices a number of objects made of thin gold plate, the function of which could not hitherto be satisfactorily explained. These are the so-called *Gamaschenhalter* (PLATE 13, *a*). It is to be noticed that these objects are found only in graves in which male corpses were placed, nos. IV, V, and VI, while they are absent from those graves which contain female remains, *i.e.* nos. I and III. The function of these strangely-shaped gold bands is open to question. One of them, according to Schliemann, was found around the lower half of a thigh-bone in grave no. IV.[2] Therefore they have usually been thought of as garters. They consist of a vertical strip reinforced down the centre. At one end this strip divides into two horizontal encircling arms, and at the other end it terminates in a ring intended as a button or a loop. These arms have small holes at their extremities and turned-up edges on the reverse side. Schliemann thought that these objects were placed with the ring upwards, while Schuchhardt supposed that they had the reverse position with the ring downwards, which makes them more like garters.[3] Reichel agrees with the latter arrangement.[4] He, indeed, raised the objection that such garters were not necessary if the gaiters fitted the calf closely (compare the development of greaves in later times), yet he thinks that such an arrangement was necessary on account of the long shields striking against the warrior's shins. Ordinary men would have had bands to hold up their greaves, and like the greaves themselves, these would have been made of leather or cloth. Yet he observes that such leg armour is missing from all representations of warriors in these tombs and on gold rings and carved stones,[5] and I would also point out that the gaiters which are found in later representations, such as the frescoes at Tiryns and Mycenae and the vases depicting warriors, lack these garters. The fact that the gaiters appear first in the later Mycenaean period makes the interpretation of these objects as garters unlikely.

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[1] *Cf.* Persson, ' New tombs at Dendra near Midea ', *Acta Reg. Societatis Hum. Litt. Lundensis* XXXIV, Lund 1942, 102 f.

[2] *Cf.* Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, London 1878, 230, fig. 338.

Georg Karo in *Schachtgräber von Mykenai* has dealt most thoroughly with the objects in question. He has given excellent photographs and descriptions in his inventory: grave IV, nos. 267–70 and 271–72, plates 67 and 68; grave V, nos. 637, 652–53, plate 68; grave VI, nos. 913–14, plate 68. Referring to the fact that gaiters do not appear in the more ancient representations, and that where such gaiters do actually appear in late Mycenaean work the garters are missing, he says: '*Die Verwendung dieser Stücke bleibt demnach unsicher*'. He raises the objection that they are too small to encircle the leg and '*waren auch kaum auf einer Unterlage befästigt, wie die Art des Umbiegens der Ränder zeigt*'.[6]

In his *Ergebnisse* Karo deals again with these objects under the heading of '*Schutzwaffen*'.[7] He emphasises that they appear in all tombs containing male remains, with the exception of grave II, and only in these graves, and nowhere else in the Minoan–Mycenaean world. Considering the fact that

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[3] *Cf.* Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*, Leipzig 1890, 261: '*Sie sassen jedenfalls in der Weise, dass das ornamentirte Band mit Hilfe eines Drahtes die Partie zwischen Knie und Wade umschlang, der verticale Streif aber nach unten hing und mit seiner Öse einen Knopf der Gamasche fasste.*'

[4] *Cf.* Reichel, *Homerische Waffen* ^{2}, Wien 1901, 58 f.

[5] Reichel misinterpreted the footwear which also covers the lower calf of the otherwise unclothed figure depicted on a gold ring. They are definitely not gaiters but only the common footwear of an athlete. In the matter of this interesting representation, *cf.* Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1942, 36 f.

[6] *Cf.* Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, München 1930, 77.

[7] Karo, *op. cit.*, 220.

Schliemann found one of these objects with the ring pointing upwards, and the arms around the thigh-bone of a man, just above the knee, Karo again took up the garter theory and examined Reichel's argument concerning the necessity of a protection against the knocking of the long shield against the shins, not on the march but in battle. Karo supposes that the thin gold plate was attached to long '*hosenähnliche Schurze*' by means of the upper ring, while the horizontal bands, being tied together with cord beneath the knee, secured a knee-pad made of either felt or leather. This is the same arrangement as Schliemann has suggested. Karo is apparently not himself quite happy with this interpretation but '*sie führt zu der einzigen m.E. möglichen Lösung*'. At another place he emphasises: '*Ich verkenne nicht die Schwierigkeit, dass von alledem auf unseren Darstellungen keine Spur zu sehen ist; aber es mag sich um eine örtlich und zeitlich begrenzte Sitte handeln, die deshalb auf den ganz minoisch stilisierten Reliefs des Silbergefässes 605 nicht in die Erscheinung tritt.*'

Concerning the ornamentation, Karo[8] observes that '*Strichelung des Grundes*' is unusual but appears, among other objects, on gold bands which he thinks have belonged to scabbards, and also on the '*Gamaschenhalter*' nos. 271–72 (pl. 67). On these appear a double spiral on the central part, and a C-shaped spiral close to the upper ring. The framed spiral,[9] which appears among other things on the grave stele 1427, and displays an elegant form on the dagger-sheath from Asine,[10] appears also on the central part of these later '*Gamaschenhalter*'.

For my part, I am inclined to group together certain other small objects from the Shaft Graves with our '*Gamaschenhalter*'. In grave V were found gold bands, *op. cit.* no. 637, pl. 68, which according to Karo were placed on scabbards. Those which, according to Karo's inventory, have the numbers 637, 638, 649, 650, and 654 all belong together. Number 654 Karo describes in the following way: '*Die Form, mit eingebogenen Rändern und den Resten eines halbmondförmigen Ansatzes auf einer Langseite, gleicht nr. 292–293*' from tomb IV. These later objects Karo calls '*goldene Verkleidungsbleche*' and remarks of them, as of the above mentioned, that their edges are '*senkrecht umgebogen*'. Karo believes that these gold bands with a length of about 15 cm. and a breadth of 2–3 cm. were fastened to an ivory comb. The bent edges and the minute holes which are sometimes found suggest that they were fastened to a comparatively soft material, either leather or wood.

For my part I have come to the conclusion that the famous '*Gamaschenhalter*', like the golden bands we have just mentioned, were affixed as ornaments to royal quivers. I came to this conclusion because of the representation of a quiver in a chariot on a stele, from the time of Amenhotep III, now in Cairo (*cf.* FIGS. 1–2).

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[8] Karo, *op. cit.*, 273, note 2.

[9] *Ibid.*, 280.

[10] Cf. *Asine, Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922–1930*, Stockholm 1938, 256.

Quivers of some kind must have existed in the Shaft Graves. The arrowheads found in them bear witness to this. There were in grave IV '*auf einem Haufen*' thirty-five arrowheads '*offenbar von einem Pfeilbündel*'.[11] Under no. 536 Karo goes into more detail about these arrowheads, and gives a list of twenty-six examples of yellowish flint, and twelve of obsidian.[12] The use of bows and arrows is otherwise illustrated through representations on various articles from the Shaft Graves: scenes of hunting and war, as *e.g.* the dagger-blade showing lion hunting and the silver horn showing siege scenes, both of them from grave IV.[13]

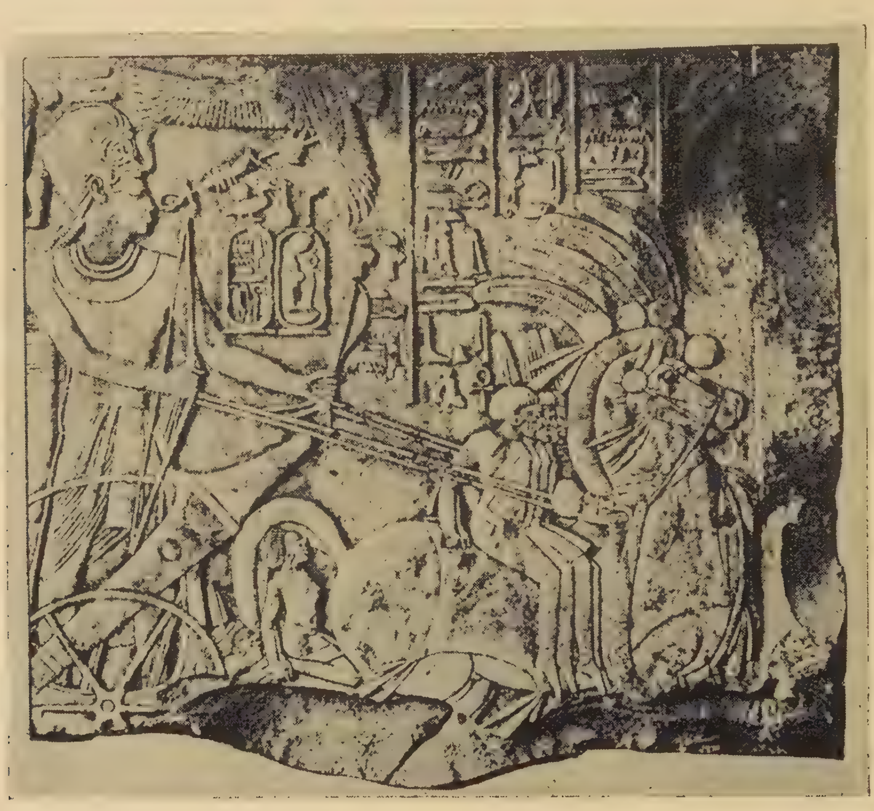

FIG. 1.—STELE SHOWING AMENHOTEP III IN HIS CHARIOT WITH THE QUIVER ATTACHED TO THE BODY OF THE CHARIOT.

I have no representation to show from either Mycenaean or Minoan sites relevant to the ornamentation of the quiver. Homer paid very little attention to the quiver. The Greek name is, as is known, φαρέτρη, and we have very little information concerning its form from Homer. We hear only that it was hollow, κοίλη φαρέτρη, and fitted with a lid, πῶμα, to protect the arrows from damage by the weather. Therefore the quiver was completely closed in. In art the quiver does not appear until the late archaic period, when it begins to be represented in connexion with the figure of Herakles. Φαρέτρη is a purely Indo-European word: *cf.* Lat. *ferre*, Germ. *bära.*

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[11] *Cf.* Karo, *Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922–1930*, Stockholm 1938, 38.

[12] *Cf.* Karo, *ibid.*, 113, and also 208.

[13] *Cf.* Karo, *ibid.*, resp. nos. 394 and 605–607.

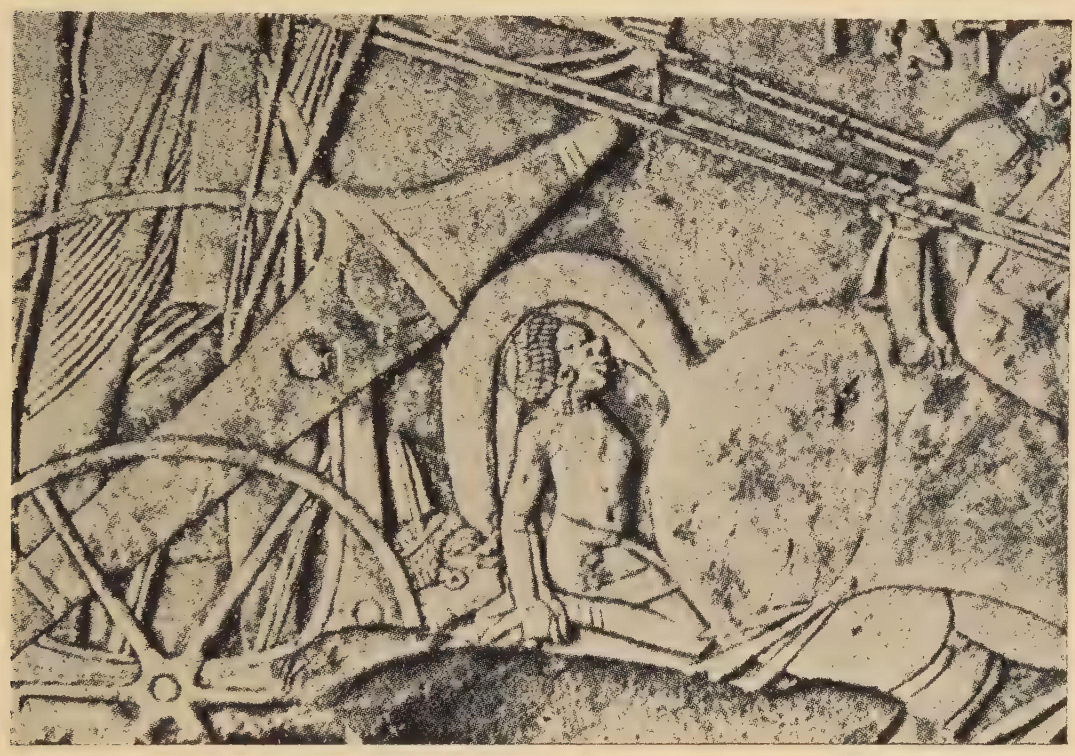

Fig. 2.—Detail from Fig. 1 showing the Quiver.

Bonnet rightly points out that a receptacle for arrows must sooner or later have been added to an archer's equipment, partly to leave his hands free, and partly to protect the arrows from damp.[14] In Babylon representations of the quiver are found at the same time as the bow makes its first appearance. The development was slower in Egypt where right into the Middle Kingdom the archer is pictured with his arrows in a bundle, and sometimes with a kind of hood around the arrowheads. At this time the use began also of receptacles of various kinds, both broad shallow baskets and long and narrow wooden holders. Such receptacles have been found in tombs dating from the Middle Kingdom, still partly filled with arrows. It is possible that this latter type served chiefly for storing the arrows at home, as it was unmanageable in battle. Highly-placed persons had a special servant who accompanied them and who carried the quiver hanging from a strap over the arm or shoulder. In general, however, the archers in battle, even in the New Kingdom, carried their arrows loose, and the use of a special weapon-bearer was restricted to the most important people. From this time forward, *i.e.* from the middle of the 18th Dynasty, when Egypt, through fighting in the Near East, came into closer contact with the Semitic peoples, the use of the quiver became prevalent in Egypt. It is a fact that at the same time the Semitic name for the quiver was adopted.[15]

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[14] Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, Leipzig 1926, 174.

The shape of the quiver during the New Kingdom was probably adapted from that of Asia Minor. The quiver tapers downwards, and is generally fitted with a lid, attached to the receptacle by a strap. Many such quivers of leather have been found, often embellished with impressed designs. Probably this cornet-like type originated in the Babylonian civilisation, whence it came to Syria and then to Egypt, first during the Hyksos period—at the same time as the chariot. Very often the quiver is represented as Semitic tribute and is always carried by the Semites themselves. Wolf reproduces (*op. cit.* pl. 16) a pair of well-preserved leather quivers from the Maherperis tomb. The ornamentation consists in the one case of impressed designs on the red leather,[16] and in the other of sewn-on strips and small pieces of coloured leather (PLATE 13, *b*).

It seems probable that the quiver reached the Greek civilisation under similar circumstances, namely in company with the war-chariot and the horse. It probably formed a more luxurious part of a prince's equipment. During the Mycenaean period they were either attached to a chariot—the representations on the stelae from the Shaft Graves are not detailed enough to make them visible—or, as in Egypt, they were carried by special weapon-bearers. For my part, I assume that the Mycenaean quiver was adopted from Egypt. I refer to the connexions between Egypt and Mycenae which I believe we can already trace during the period of the Shaft Graves.[17] The relations demonstrable just at this time make such a supposition more probable than that the quiver was adopted directly from Asia Minor. Even in this case one must to some extent, and especially concerning the artistic embellishment, take into account '*örtlich und zeitlich begrenzte Sitte*', as Karo does with the interpretation of the controversial gold objects called '*Gamaschenhalter*'. It seems, however, probable that the quiver, once it came into use, also became popular. That Homer does not describe it more thoroughly can be accounted for by the fact that at that time the quiver had become a normal part of an archer's equipment.

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[15] *Cf.* Walther Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, Leipzig 1926, 51: '*Die Feststellung, dass das im M.R. zum ersten Male überlieferte Wort für den Köcher* isp. t *ein hebräisch und keilschriftlich überliefertes semitisches Wort ist und dass ihn ein Mitglied der in Beni Hasan dargestellten Semitenkarawane trägt, verstärkt die Vermutung, dass der Gebrauch des Köchers sich von den Semiten auf die Ägypter übertragen hat*'.

[16] For this decoration, *cf.* Karo, *op. cit.*, 81, fig. 19, no. 292.

[17] *Cf.* Persson, *New tombs at Dendra near Midea*, 176 ff.

Without wishing to suggest a direct connexion, I desire to draw attention to the part played by the quiver in later times amongst the Scythians, whose archers were especially famous in antiquity.[18] Their quivers were made of wood or leather and were decorated with gold bands. Concerning the use of the quiver in classical times, reference may be made to the article 'Köcher' in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Realencyclopädie* and to the article 'Pharetra' in Daremberg-Saglio.

The suggestion here made concerning the interpretation of the strange gold objects from the Shaft Graves as ornamentation on quivers is not based on extensive evidence. In any case the Egyptian reliefs come closer in time than the late Mycenaean gaiters. The horizontal band has been placed upwards, as Reichel has it, and the vertical reinforced part with the ring at the end downwards. The ring itself had something to do with the fastening of the quiver lid. A strap was passed through the ring and tied around the knob attached to the ring. Schliemann's information that one of these mysterious objects was found around the thigh-bone of a man can very well fit in with the quiver theory, for the quiver was carried over the shoulder and hung down to the thigh. Also the circumstance that the '*Gamaschenhalter*' were several times found in pairs does not upset the theory. In later times it is established that archers carried two or three quivers so as to be plentifully supplied with missiles.

AXEL W. PERSSON

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[18] *Cf.* Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, 67 ff., and Index *s.v.* 'Quiver'.

LES ‘AGORAS DE DIEUX’ EN GRÈCE

Les remarques ici présentées ne touchent qu’indirectement aux domaines où M. A. J. B. Wace est spécialiste et maître ; qu’il veuille bien, pourtant, les agréer, en souvenir de notre longue et amicale communauté de travail dans l’Orient héllénique : ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ !

En suivant récemment les études consacrées aux problèmes des agoras grecques, études qui n’ont pas cessé d’être nombreuses et intéressantes—je pense ici, par exemple, aux observations faites encore en 1949–1950, par R. E. Wycherley, en Angleterre, par R. Martin, en France [1]—je n’ai pas pu éviter l’impression d’une part peut-être trop insuffisante accordée à certaines découvertes, qui ont montré, il y a peu, l’importance des primitives ἀγοραὶ θεῶν ; celles-ci ont été le modèle divin offert, je crois, dès la période archaïque, aux futures agoras humaines ; les agoras humaines ne se sont constituées et organisées indépendamment qu’à une date relativement plus basse.

Il est connu, dès le temps des poèmes homériques, que les dieux grecs passaient pour s’assembler périodiquement, à l’Olympe et ailleurs.[2] A l’Olympe, ils étaient censés discuter tous ensemble, non sans rivalités et querelles, les affaires du ciel et de la terre. Lorsqu’ils descendaient parmi les hommes, ils se réunissaient volontiers aussi, à l’écart de leurs fidèles. Il n’est pas sûr que chaque ville ait localisé à l’époque historique, en un point réservé, hors les murs ou à l’intérieur de l’enceinte commune, les terrains sacrés réservés aux épiphanies des maîtres du monde, terrains où, peu à peu, les apparitions divines furent fixées et matérialisées par l’érection de statues.[3] On peut croire déjà, du moins, que l’usage religieux des consécrations d’ ἀγοραὶ θεῶν a dû être assez répandu. Il m’a semblé utile de recueillir et de classer ici nos actuelles informations, un tel recensement ne pouvant être, d’ailleurs, qu' assez lacunaire. Son principal mérite pourra être de servir à amorcer et à susciter d'autres recherches.[4]

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[1] R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks built cities*, 1949, London ; R. Martin, *Recherches sur l’agora grecque. Études d’histoire et d’architecture urbaines*, thèse soutenue en Sorbonne le 20 mai 1950 (à paraître).

[2] Sur l’ ὁμήγυρις, assemblée et lieu d’assemblée des Immortels, cf. *Iliade* XX 142 ; *Hymne à Déméter*, 92 ; *Hymne à Apollon* (*suite pythique*), 187 ; *Hymne à Hermès*, 332. L’expression θεῶν μεθ’ ὁμήγυριν est devenue une formule assez usuelle. L’ ὁμήγυρις est en rapport avec ἀγορεύω, ἀγορά : *cf.* Michel Bréal, ‘ Pour mieux connaître Homère ’, *Lexilogus*, 1906, 157–158 ; M. Lejeune, *Traité de phonétique grecque*, 1946, 169, n. 2. Mais, d’autre part, Eschyle applique ce composé épique à la lumineuse assemblée des astres : *Agamemnon*, 4. Notons aussi que ὁμηγυρίσασθαι est employé dans *l’Odyssée* (XVI 376) pour désigner déjà la convocation de l’assemblée des gens d’Ithaque. Ce texte pourrait donner une indication sur le moment, où, du souvenir des ‘ agoras de dieux ’, on est passé à l’organisation des agoras humaines.

[3] Il ne s’agit pas ici de reparler du thème sculptural des assemblées divines, encore que ceux qui en ont traité jusqu’ici, à propos des frontons et des frises, notamment, soient loin d’avoir dit même l’essentiel. Nous nous bornons volontairement à la question des *agoras* de dieux. Nous nous bornons aussi au domaine grec et gréco-oriental, sans ignorer qu’il eût été possible, sinon utile, d’en sortir. Des agoras de dieux ont existé en Égypte : Hellanikos, dans ses *Aegyptiaca* (cités par Athénée, XV 680) mentionne une ville de la vallée du Nil, ‘ Tindion ’, où se tenait l’assemblée des dieux ; il existait là, nous dit-on, un grand temple de pierre, environné d’épines blanches et noires, sur lesquelles on venait déposer, paraît-il, des couronnes de fleurs d’acanthe, des grenades entrelacées avec la vigne ; les fleurs offertes ne dépérissaient ni ne fanaient jamais.

En utilisant parallèlement les textes et les trouvailles archéologiques, on obtient les mentions suivantes d'agoras divines: au total, une quinzaine d'exemples au moins,[5] présentés ici dans l'ordre alphabétique des noms de villes ou de lieux.

Argos, d'abord. L'Agora des dieux d'Argos ne nous est connue que littérairement, voire théâtralement, par les *Suppliantes* d'Eschyle. Ce lieu de culte est signalé hors les murs, sur un tertre d'où la vue plonge vers la plaine et la mer.[6] Le tertre comportait un ἄλσος; il était donc boisé en partie. Les ' Suppliantes ' invoquent en ce *téménos* Zeus, Hélios, Apollon, Poseidon, Hermès, et d'autres immortels encore,[7] certains représentés par leurs βρέτη, d'autres par leurs symboles seulement: tel, semble-t-il, Poseidon par son trident (*v.* 218). Il y a là un exemple très instructif d'une agora de dieux dorienne, archaïque, hors les murs. Zeus y semble dominer la troupe céleste.

Pour Capoue, nous connaissons aussi, dans les temps préromains, une agora de dieux hors la ville: ce serait, d'après les recherches de J. Heurgon, le sanctuaire du Fondo Patturelli,[8] témoin d'une organisation certainement primitive, localisée dans un bois sacré, avec prédominance, semble-t-il, d'une déesse, Héra-Juno, assistée d'un Zeus. Les autres dieux attestés sont Héraclès-Hercule, Mater Matuta, Athéna-Minerve, Hélios, peut-être Vénus Jovia.

Pour Cyrène, on peut postuler tout au moins l'existence d'un centre de réunion des Immortels,[9] et leur groupement paraît avoir été aussi archaïque.

Cyzique fournit un exemple déjà utilisé par E. Curtius: l'appellation semble même s'être étendue à tout un quartier de la ville, d'après un texte d'Aristide, Dindorf I p. 387: Ἔοικε γάρ τις ἁπάντων εἶναι, τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, ὥσπερ ἣν καλοῦσιν οὕτως ἀγοράν. On peut penser qu'il s'agit spécialement de la région du vaste Métrôon local, à cause de l'analogie qu'offre désormais l'exemple d'Ostie, par exemple, comme on verra.

Le cas de Délos est un des mieux connus aujourd'hui, et il en sera traité avec plus de détail, ci après, car nous possédons là l'emplacement exact d'une agora de dieux, dès l'époque archaïque, avec certaines des statues qui y furent dressées par les Pisistratides: Zeus, Héra, Léto, Apollon et Artémis figuraient dans la réunion divine, avec d'autres, semble-t-il.

[4] E. Curtius, *Gesam. Abh.* I 322, avait eu raison de conclure déjà à l'existence de tels enclos sacrés dans de nombreuses cités. Mais les fouilles ont apporté bien des compléments importants à son information.

[5] M. R. Martin, dans ses études ci-dessus mentionnées, en signale sept ou huit déjà (1950).

[6] *Suppliantes*, 180, 713, 955.

[7] *Ibid.*, 210, 220.

[8] J. Heurgon, *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion, et la civilisation de Capoue pré-romaine, des origines à la deuxième guerre punique*, 1942, 330 sqq., 387–388.

[9] Renseignement de M. Fr. Chamoux, qui prépare une étude sur l'histoire de Cyrène avant la période hellénistique.

A Éleusis, un texte d'Aristide, *Éloge d'Athènes*, 16, Dindorf I p. 27,[10] fournit la mention explicite d'un lieu réservé : θεῶν ἀγορὰ τόπος ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι· εἰσίασι δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν πάντες εὐφήμως. Il est à noter que le sanctuaire a fourni des images de divinités diverses, outre celles des Deux déesses et des entités divines attachées directement à leur culte.

A Gortyne, en Crète, les fouilles italiennes ont bien montré l'indépendance des deux agoras, séparées par la route : celle 'des dieux' (près du Pythion) et celle des hommes.[11]

Pour Lesbos,[12] nous devons considérer comme une sorte d'agora divine le sanctuaire où le poète Alcée bénéficia de l'*asylia* et où étaient adorés ensemble, une Héra Αἰολῃα, dite aussi Γενέθλα, maîtresse du *téménos*, un Zeus des suppliants (Antaios ?), et un Dionysos Κεμήλιος, Dionysos-faon, sans doute.[12a] Le *téménos* mentionné par Alcée était situé au mont Pylaion, donc sur un haut-lieu, hors la ville. On y célébrait des jeux et des concours de beauté féminine. L'usage du droit d'asile est à retenir.

Il faut ici mentionner maintenant Olympie, où le sanctuaire de l'Altis, avec son organisation des six grands autels que connaissait déjà Pindare, groupant des sacrifices périodiques (κοινοβωμία), évoque de près ce que nous connaissons d'autre part, de façon nette, pour l'agora de dieux à Délos. L'Altis d'Olympie a certainement, comme le bois sacré de Capoue, été le centre d'une assemblée d'Immortels, organisée là encore sous le patronage de Zeus et d'Héra. On a pu minimiser ou exagérer l'ancienneté et l'importance du groupement des dieux à Olympie.[13] Il n'en correspond pas moins à une réalité indiscutable : Zeus siègeait dans l'Altis, aux parages du Pélopion, au pied même du Cronion, où il n'a eu ni accès, ni pouvoirs. C'est là un exemple important d'agora de dieux en plaine, comme à Délos, où le Cynthe et ses abords n'avaient pas été choisis, du moins au temps de la domination des Pisistratides, déjà.

Le Métrôon d'Ostie a restitué, pendant les fouilles menées près de la Porta Laurentina, un petit autel des douze dieux, de forme circulaire, qui, publié par M. G. Becatti,[14] suffit à attester l'existence d'une communauté divine, organisée, aux temps romains, sous l'autorité de la Mère des dieux.[15] Comme à Cyzique, à Thasos aussi, semble-t-il, la Magna Mater d'Ostie devait avoir reçu à l'époque romaine impériale des pouvoirs cosmiques qui lui donnaient qualité pour grouper les Immortels autour d'elle.

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[10] *Cf.* aussi Zénobios IV 30.

[11] Luigi Pernier et Luisa Banti, *Guida degli scavi italiani in Creta*, 1947, 15 sqq. ; plan général de la figure 22.

[12] *Cf.* p. ex. *BCH* LXX (1946), 455 sqq. (Ch. Picard).

[12a] Alcée n'a parlé que d'une triade, mais il n'est pas exclu qu'on eût donné l'hospitalité à d'autres dieux aussi, au mont Pylaion.

[13] *Sic*, peut-être encore, M. Norman O. Brown, *Hermes the Thief*, 1947, 103–105, 119 ; *cf.* L. Weniger, 'Olympische Studien', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XX (1920–1921), 47–78, pour l'institution à Olympie, en 580 av. J. C., du culte des douze dieux.

[14] *Ann.* XXII (1942), 85–137, 5 pl.

[15] J'ai marqué sommairement déjà l'importance de cette découverte : *REL* XXIII (1945), publié en 1946, 44–47.

Au hasard des textes ou des trouvailles archéologiques, nous pouvons imaginer plus ou moins ce qu’étaient certains *téméne* sacrés réservés pour les dieux. C’est le cas à Pharai, par exemple, en Achaïe, une des douze villes de la Ligue achéenne ; Pausanias a signalé que les dieux y étaient représentés, encore en son temps, par de simples pierres aniconiques, d’institution, sans doute, primitive. On voyait là une trentaine de piliers carrés représentant chacun un personnage divin, associés dans une curieuse intimité, au voisinage d’une source consacrée à Hermès.[16] Le tertre argien évoqué dans les *Suppliantes* d’Eschyle a peut-être eu lui-même certains aspects de cette étrange ‘ agora ’ de piliers divins, formant des ‘ alignements ’ de pierres équarries.

Tout autre est l’agora des dieux connue à Pergame, où le sanctuaire de Déméter, comme celui d’Éleusis, accueillait une réunion d’Immortels, aussi divers, comme on va voir, qu’à Théra.[17] Sur l’esplanade du sanctuaire de Déméter, dans la citadelle mysienne, en avant des gradins établis pour les fêtes et cérémonies d’initiation, il y avait—comme dans l’Altis d’Olympie—divers petits autels consacrés à des entités multiples ;[18] parmi celles-ci, Zeus Ktésios, Hermès, Hélios, probablement Asclépios et Héraclès ; des divinités secondaires comme Séléné, Nyx, Teleté, l’allégorie de l’initiation ; une Καλλιγόνη associée à Εὐετηρία. Par souci de n’oublier personne, dans cette ‘ agora ’ si peuplée, on avait fait place même aux ‘ dieux inconnus ’. Les attestations de leur culte voisinent avec les consécrations faites ‘ à tous les dieux ’. On a déjà remarqué que le local de ce ‘ Panthéon ’ pergaménien était indépendant de l’agora de la cité, placée, elle, sous la protection de Zeus Sôter. Il est arrivé ici et là, comme à Athènes, qu’un autel des douze dieux ait reçu une place, et une enceinte, sur l’agora des hommes ; mais il n’y avait, au point de départ, aucun lien nécessaire entre les agoras divines et les autres. L’exemple de Pergame peut nous servir à imaginer plus ou moins l’agora de dieux d’Éleusis, elle-même dans un sanctuaire d’initiation (comme les agoras divines des Métrôa).

On a trop rarement remarqué que Tanagra, cité du vin, avait eu à l’époque héllénistique un groupement de dieux formant une ‘ agora ’. Pausanias nous l’avait pourtant bien signalé, au passage.[19] Il ne manque pas de relever que dans la riche cité béotienne, les temples étaient tous groupés : celui de Dionysos—ajoutons, au voisinage, sans doute, celui des Deux déesses, que la *Périègèse* a omis—ceux de Thémis, Aphrodite, Apollon ; dans l’Apollonion étaient honorés aussi Artémis et Léto. Pausanias précisait, ainsi qu’on va voir : ‘ Parmi les Grecs, ce sont les Tanagréens,’ dit-il, ‘ qui me paraissent avoir le mieux rendu les honneurs dûs aux dieux ; ils ont placé leurs propres demeures d’un côté, et de l’autre les temples, qui sont ainsi dans un espace libre et à l’écart des hommes ’ : χωρὶς δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐν καθαρῷ τε ἐστιν, καὶ ἔκτος ἀνθρώπων. Je ne crois pas qu’on ait relevé jusqu’ici l’intérêt de ce passage, si précis ; il faut retenir la mention de *pureté*, que nous retrouvons à Xanthos (Lycie). Elle marque le but des organisations d’agoras divines. On estimait convenable que les dieux fûssent *chez eux*, non pas tant pour leur commodité, ou pour éviter l’indiscrétion, peut-être, des vues mortelles ; mais surtout, en tout cas, pour qu’on pût établir autour de leur réunion, la barrière *sacrale*, l’obstacle religieux contre toute impureté humaine.

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[16] Pausanias VII 22, 4 : τούτους σέβουσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς, ἑκάστῳ θεοῦ τινος ὄνομα ἐπιλέγοντες.

[17] Pour Pergame, *cf.* Erwin Ohlemütz, *Die Kulte u. Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon*, 1940, 203 sqq.

[18] Liste dans *AM* XXXV (1910), 451 sqq. (no. 32 sqq.) ; XXXVII (1912), 286 sqq. (no. 12 sqq.).

[19] Pausanias IX 22.

A Thasos, l’agora de dieux, non encore identifiée sur le terrain, devait être dans le voisinage de l’église actuelle de Liménas, et ainsi, tout près de l’ancien sanctuaire de la Mère des dieux, d’où provient le trapézophore récemment publié, trapézophore inscrit, portant aussi en relief une frise des dieux locaux groupés autour de Cybèle.[20] La même région a donné des dédicaces ‘ à tous les dieux ’.[21]

Théra offre un exemple archaïque très intéressant des précautions prises pour isoler l’ ‘ agora de dieux ’ en pays dorien.[22] Les indications qu’on rencontre là corroborent celles, littéraires, des *Suppliantes* d’Eschyle. L’agora de dieux était installée, à Théra, sur la croupe rocheuse choisie par les colons, mais au Sud, à l’opposite du site humain. Les autels sont identifiés, les uns au voisinage des autres, par des inscriptions gravées sur le roc.[23] Une inscription mentionne les images divines placées πρὸ τõ σαμηίο.[24] Il s’agit donc là aussi, comme à Argos, de *signes* symboliques ayant tenu en certains cas la place de dieux, et l’on notera, dans les *Suppliantes* d’Eschyle, l’emploi, fait précisément par le poète, du même mot.[25] La ressemblance entre Argos et Théra s’étend au dispositif des deux sanctuaires : ils comportèrent, l’un et l’autre, une zône dégagée et largement accessible, pour les cérémonies et les fêtes, zône où les humains étaient occasionnellement réunis. Mais le lieu d’assemblée des dieux était à part, ainsi qu’à Tanagra, ou à Xanthos, dans une enceinte *réservée*, associant les autels, les symboles, les statues. L’esplanade de Théra, aménagée devant une paroi rocheuse, bordée d’un mur puissant,[26] montre encore les ruines d’un édifice où Hiller von Gaertringen avait voulu, sans preuves, voir un temple. Une grotte s'ouvrait dans le banc rupestre, grotte qu'on voit environnée, soit d'inscriptions, soit de *graffiti*. Les dieux mentionnés là sont Zeus, Apollon, les Courètes, les Dioscures, Lechaia et Damia. C'est Zeus qui est le plus fréquemment invoqué à Théra, comme ailleurs, avec les surnoms d'Hikésios, ou de Meilichios, rappelant ainsi l'Antaios de Lesbos, lui-même accueillant aux suppliants, aux exilés.

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[20] Ch. Picard, *MonPiot* XL (1944), 107–134 (‘ Trapézophore sculpté d’un sanctuaire thasien ’). Le trapézophore avait été dédié par une prêtresse thasienne de Cybèle, à l’époque antonine.

[21] *IG* XII 8, 374 ; XII 8, Supplém. 435 ; G. Daux, *BCH* LII (1928), 55, no. 5. *Cf.* aussi Ch. Picard *MonPiot* XL (1944), 123–124.

[22] Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera* I 283 sqq. ; III 62 sqq.

[23] *Thera* III 62 sqq.

[24] *IG* XII 3, 452 ; cf. *Thera*, I 203.

[25] *Suppliantes* 205, 218.

[26] *Thera* I 283 sqq. ; cf. *Suppliantes* 508, où, si l’on adopte la leçon des mss., il faut admettre que le sanctuaire argien comprenait, lui aussi, une place d’assemblée laïque ; *cf.* 975–976 : λαῶν ἐν χώρῳ, avec une partie plane pour les réunions humaines (508 : λευρὸν κατ’ ἄλσος. Eschyle indique nettement qu’elle était réservée aux *profanes*, en l’appelant : βέβηλον ἄλσος.

Bien que Xanthos (Lycie) soit exclue—comme Capoue, Cyrène, Cyzique, Pergame aussi, d'ailleurs—du domaine géographique de la Grèce propre, il faut s'arrêter avec attention devant ce que nous y pouvons apprendre au sujet des agoras de dieux. En se reportant à la carte dressée en 1892 par E. Krickl à Xanthos, lorsqu'il accompagnait O. Benndorf dans l'exploration de la Lycie,[27] on voit que la 'tombe' dite 'des Harpyies' se dressait sur une pente au bord d'une étendue plate, dominant la vallée encaissée du Xanthos à l'Ouest. A cinquante pas au N.-E., il y a une autre stèle-pilier, comparable pour la forme et les dimensions. Les reliefs qui y étaient sculptés viennent d'être retrouvés en partie.[28] Les côtés portent une longue inscription en langue et écriture lycienne. Mais au milieu de cette inscription locale, il y a douze vers grecs—de la fin du V ou du début du IV s.—par lesquels nous apprenons que le monument était situé sur l'agora de dieux à Xanthos.[29] Le monument est connu sous le nom de 'Stèle des Harpagides', ou 'Stèle de Xanthos'. C'est un trophée de guerre, en tour-pilier. Moins encore que la 'Tombe' des Harpyies—qui n'est pas un μνῆμα purement privé, comme on le disait encore en 1942, mais plutôt une consécration locale faite aux dieux infernaux—la stèle des Harpagides ne peut passer pour une offrande simplement personnelle des princes du pays: c'est un monument public de victoire; car, ainsi que le dit le texte grec, le dédicant l'a offerte 'aux douze dieux':

ἀνέθηκεν
δώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει
νικέων καὶ πολέμου μνῆμα τόδε ἀθάνατον.

Ce texte important n'a peut-être pas été considéré d'assez près; il atteste que les deux tours-piliers connues de Xanthos ornaient une agora de dieux, dans un *téménos* 'pur', selon l'expression que nous avons déjà rencontrée et commentée (ci-dessus, Tanagra). L'agora de dieux, à Xanthos, n'a pas été forcément 'le centre religieux et civique de la ville', comme l'écrit encore M. J. F. Tritsch.[30] On sait d'ailleurs qu'il a existé une autre agora à Xanthos, pendant la période romaine. L'agora de dieux était un lieu-saint où il devait avoir aussi le *Sarpedoneion*, vers l'Est, et où le culte de Glaucos est attesté épigraphiquement.

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[27] On la trouve republiée en 1942: *cf.* F. J. Tritsch, *JHS* LXII (1942), 39 sqq., pl. I–IV; pour la carte, *cf.* 40, fig. 1.

[28] Ainsi que le couronnement de la stèle-tour, analogue à celui des Harpyies. On a maintenant déjà un bloc d'angle de la frise décorée (haut. 1 m. 60), avec défilés et combats (Mission P. Demargne–P. Devambez, 1950).

[29] *Cf.* O. Benndorf, *W. Jahresh.* III (1900), 98 sqq.; F. W. König, *Klotho*, 1936; P. Meriggi, *Acta Jutlandica* (*Aarskrift vor Aarhus Universitet* IX (1937), 504 sqq. Pour le texte grec, *cf.* Kalinka, *TAM* I (1901) 1, 44, 6, 21.

[30] *JHS* LXII (1942), 40–41.

Notre classement—si conventionnel, provisoire, et incomplet qu'il doive paraître—des sites où les agoras divines paraissent avoir existé, révèle déjà certaines particularités de ces installations crées pour les dieux. Les unes sont sur les hauteurs, les autres en plaine; mais ce sont partout des lieux saints: Ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει, nous dit-on à Xanthos comme à Tanagra. Il serait difficile de ne pas voir que ce besoin religieux de grouper dans un même péribole de sanctuaire, ou pour le moins sur des autels communs, le culte des dieux d'une cité—besoin manifesté à travers toute l'aire du monde hellénique, ici ou là—a dû influencer le dispositif des agoras grecques, où la place majeure accordée aux dieux, aux héros, restait significative. Aucune démagogie n'a pu modifier, nulle part, cet état de choses.

Certes, il n'y a aucun lien nécessaire entre ces assemblées de dieux et les cultes de l'agora. Mais, il arrive, comme on a vu, que les agoras de dieux, leurs communs autels, soient hospitalisés, tantôt dans des sanctuaires (Éleusis, Olympie), tantôt, tout aussi bien, sur l'aire d'une agora humaine, ou dans son voisinage immédiat.[30a]

Avant de conclure, je voudrais signaler ici l'importance exceptionnelle d'une agora de dieux, sur laquelle des découvertes récentes nous renseignent en détail: celle de Délos. A mi-chemin sur la carte entre Xanthos et Ostie, dans une île où les Romains et les Orientaux se sont mêlés, dès le II s. avant notre ère, aux Grecs, nous avons la chance de bien connaître une agora de dieux typique, constituée dès le temps des Pisistratides, à l'intérieur d'un téménos 'pur', qui, voisin du sanctuaire de Léto, peut-être même dépendant du culte de cette déesse, a dû être placé originairement sous la caution de la mère des Létoïdes: une 'déesse-mère' comme celles qui, de Cyzique à Ostie, ont été volontiers suzeraines et garantes des lieux d'assemblées divines.

Avant la fin du VI s. nous trouvons constitué à Délos—non au Cynthe, mais dans la région des marais primitifs du bas Inopos, en direction de la calanque de Skhardana, près du Létôon—un groupement d'autels et de statues divines dont nous voyons encore l'enceinte, et les vestiges.[31] Le *téménos* de Léto avait dû laisser plus de liberté que les sanctuaires principaux, d'Apollon ou d'Artémis, pour agréger à la triade délienne, au temps où les Pisistratides étaient maîtres de l'île, les divinités de l'Attique. En tout cas, ce n'est pas au Létôon que les statues divines ont été transférées quand les Antigonides, qui se tenaient eux aussi pour des dieux, ont usurpé au début du III s. l'enceinte réservée, et y ont installé leur propre temple. Les statues archaïques qui ont pu être reconstituées, et qui nous restent, avaient dû subsister en même place, tout en s'alignant alors contre le temple macédonien, qui a passé trop longtemps sans preuves pour un Asclépieion.[32] Il n'y a pas eu trace, notons-le, à Délos, dans l'enceinte réservée aux dieux, d'un droit d'asile pour les réfugiés et proscrits, comparable à ce que nous voyons ailleurs, au Mont Pylaion de Lesbos, par exemple.

[30a] O. Weinreich, *SB Heidelberg* X 2 (1919), 243 sqq.; *AA* 1933, 778 sqq.

[31] *Cf.* déjà R. Vallois, *BCH* LIII (1929), 240–241; Ch. Picard, *MonPiot* XLI (1946), 80–81. Pour le dispositif des autels dans le *téménos*, *cf.* R. Vallois, *l.l.*, 225 sq. (le *Dodécathéon*), et spécialement 226 sqq.—Les dieux étaient groupés là par triades pour la κοινοβωμία: Zeus, Héra, Athéna, ensemble, correspondant à la triade cynthienne; au centre, Apollon, Artémis, Léto, les suzerains locaux, sur le plus grand autel; pour d'autres associations (Déméter, Zeus Eubouleus, Coré; peut-être Poseidon—Amphitrite—Hermès) cf. *l.l.* et O. Weinreich, *Zwölf Götter*, 788–789.

Après que les saintes images datées des Pisistratides n'eurent plus d'autre rôle que de constituer une sorte de ' haie d'honneur ' encadrant les effigies des deux nouveaux Olympiens, parvenus et tard-venus, Antigone le Borgne et Démétrios Poliorcète, les dieux pisistratiques demeurèrent pourtant, dans l'esprit des Déliens tout au moins, les véritables maîtres du lieu-saint et du temple macédonien. La façon dont l'édifice est appelé dans les inventaires est significative, et l'expression τὰ δώδεκα reprend probablement, d'après des textes anterieurs, la désignation des *ex-voto* primitifs. Les Grecs avaient gardé partout l'habitude, contractée primitivement, d'immortaliser les assemblées divines, où les dieux passaient pour discuter, comme ils font dans les poèmes homériques, sur les intérêts de l'Olympe. Ce sont les récentes recherches entreprises à Délos par mon élève M. J. Marcadé, qui nous ont renseignés le mieux sur les δώδεκα θεοί déliens.[33]

Th. Homolle avait considéré comme des Athénas archaïques deux statues incomplètes, qu'il avait trouvées en 1885, aux parages de l'Agora des Italiens, donc là même où nous reconnaissons aujourd'hui le Dodécathéon et son péribole. Les pièces, restées inédites, provenaient de la région de l'autel Athéna—Zeus—Héra, dédié à une triade dont les Romains ont fait un jour leur trinité capitoline. Peu avant la guerre de 1939, M. Chr. Karousos avait rapproché quelques débris nouveaux de ces statues. Mais c'est à M. J. Marcadé qu'il a été donné d'aboutir à une reconstitution plus instructive et plus complète. L'Athéna délienne est conservée sur une hauteur de 1 m. 27, depuis le haut de la gorge jusqu'au bas de la jambe. Il s'agit d'une Athéna en armes, *Enhoplos*, en chitôn et himation. Le ' drapé ' est insolite, surtout par le rendu de l'égide, dont les gros serpents, jadis saillants, aujourd'hui décapités, paraissent sortir du vêtement sacré: les peintures de vases font bien comprendre du moins un tel dispositif, et montrent aussi comment les reptiles sacrés peuvent apparaître d'un seul côté: c'est que, l'égide-cape couvrant tout le corps, le geste du bras droit a entrainé latéralement l'himation. M. J. Marcadé a retrouvé aussi l'arrangement des serpents sur le buste: il a pu restituer quelques éléments des bras, et ceux d'un bouclier, décoré d'animaux fantastiques. Quant à la tête de l'Athéna, il y a de très grandes chances, comme je l'ai signalé, pour qu'elle soit celle découverte un peu au delà du Dodécathéon,[34] dans la direction de l'Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos. Si le raccord matériel est devenu, à cause de l'usure des fragments, impossible, l'appartenance de la pièce à la statue est plus que vraisemblable.

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[32] *Cf.* là-dessus mon étude dans *MonPiot* XLI (1946), 73–90. Quand les Antigonides voulurent se faire représenter eux-mêmes dans le *téménos*, dominant de leurs effigies colossales le panthéon hellénique aligné des deux côtés contre les murs latéraux, ils ont sans doute fait remonter, à l'intérieur du *téménos*, les statues d'une consécration vénérable qui perpétuait l'orgueilleuse piété des Pisistratides. De même, dans le sanctuaire, les ἑπτὰ ἀγάλματα du *Porinos naos* ont pu être transférés un jour au temple voisin.

[33] Les travaux de M. J. Marcadé ont fait l'objet d'un mémoire présenté à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, et doivent être publiés dans un prochain fascicule du *BCH*.

Datée d'environ 520–510 av. J. C., l'Athéna *Enhoplos* délienne, ainsi reconstituée, se distingue par une tendance architectonique dont relèvent aussi les Corés d'Anténor; c'est donc bien une oeuvre d'Attique, une de ces Athénas dont les Pisistratides, organisateurs de l'Agora de dieux délienne, avaient introduit les images dans l'île sainte.

Nous avons maintenant aussi d'autres informations sur les statues de l'Agora divine des Déliens. Th. Homolle avait cru pouvoir identifier les restes d'une seconde Athéna, provenant du même secteur. Mais ce qu'il interprétait sur la statue comme le reste possible d'un Gorgoneion, c'était au vrai, une dépouille de fauve, nouée au cou d'une autre déesse, déesse que M. J. Marcadé, très ingénieusement, a fait reconnaître pour une Artémis. C'est là—avec l'Artémis de l'ex-voto de la Naxienne Nicandra, si l'on veut—le seul type certain de la Létoïde que nous puissions connaître à Délos pour la dernière partie du VI s., les Corés de l'Artémision n'étant pas plus des Artémis, malgré le titre de la thèse latine de Th. Homolle, que celles de l'Acropole ne sont toutes des Athénas. L'Artémis délienne était adossée à une paroi, comme l'*Enhoplos*. Le dos des deux statues n'est en effet dégrossi que sommairement. Les images sacrées se tenaient sans doute primitivement déjà au long du mur intérieur d'un péribole; la divine assemblée se présentait là debout, en file et non en cercle.

Nous avons encore d'ailleurs quelques autres fragments des Olympiens de l'agora divine, trouvés aux mêmes parages. Th. Homolle avait mentionné, sans les reconnaître, les vestiges d'une effigie matronale, Héra ou Déméter;[35] lui-même signalait des Corés, dont deux au moins, trouvées en 1880 et 1883, toujours dans la même région, appellent l'attention. L'une, dont l'appartenance au groupe de l'Agora de dieux est établie, avait été publiée par P. Paris en 1889:[36] il est possible qu'on y puisse reconnaître désormais une Létô.

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[34] *Cf. là*-dessus, déjà, Ch. Picard, *Explor. arch. Délos, Introd.*

[35] *Archives des missions*, 3 série, XIII (1887), 407.

[36] *BCH* XIII (1889), 217 sqq., pl. VII.

Nous ne manquons pas, non plus, de l’effigie la plus attendue : car M. J. Marcadé pense avoir retrouvé dans le ‘ citharède Bakalakis ’,[37] l’Apollon du groupe solennel. L’œuvre aussi est sommairement travaillée du côté du dos ; il s’agit donc encore d’une effigie adossée, de la même série.

Ainsi pouvons évoquer précieusement la réunion des effigies qui peuplaient le *téménos*. M. J. Marcadé a été bien fondé, je crois, à les identifier avec certains des *Dôdéka agalmata*, qui ornaient le péribole voisin du Létôon, et qui constituaient là une sorte de cour officielle, placée sous le patronage de la Déesse-mère, voisine. C’est aux Pisistratides qu’on peut rapporter la consécration de tout cet ensemble, où la présence d’Athéna est significative, répondant à des intentions politiques, plus encore que religieuses, intentions dont les vicissitudes de la vie politique délienne—si souvent menacée en son indépendance, dès le temps même des Pisistratides—marquent assez la portée.

Il eût été fâcheux qu’il manquât, dans le lot des statues le couple du maître des immortels, Zeus, et son épouse. Fort heureusement, reprenant, corrigeant certaines de mes études de 1924,[38] entreprises à un moment où l’on ne soupçonnait encore, ni l’existence de l’Agora de dieux délienne, ni sa place, M. J. Marcadé a su tirer excellemment parti de divers fragments archaïques épars, dont j’avais au moins signalé le prix. Là où j’avais cru à tort pouvoir distinguer les restes de trois ‘ *déesses* ’ différentes, il faut reconnaître plutôt une Héra *assise*, et un Zeus trônant. Cette paire divine formait vraisemblablement ainsi le *centre* de la file des *Dôdéka Agalmata*, selon les exigences de la hiérarchie et de l’art. Les lieux de trouvailles permettent de penser que les deux effigies principales étaient jadis voisines, elles-mêmes, du Létôon : elles ne viennent pas de l’Héraeon archaïque au pied du Cynthe, ainsi que je l’avais pu croire, trompé par d’inexactes indications d’inventaires. Ce qui est vrai, du moins, c’est qu’elles accusent des influences artistiques un peu différentes, par comparaison avec le reste du lot. En elles, s’associent et s’enchevêtrent les tendances de l’Attique et celles de l’Orient ionien. Auraient-elles été conçues, exécutées à part, puis jointes à l’ensemble de l’Agora de dieux, après la chute des Pisistratides ? Il ne faut pas hésiter du moins, d’après les lieux des trouvailles, à les compter dans la liste des sculptures archaïques groupées aux parages du Létôon, vers 500–490.

Les grands autels du Dodécathéon délien, postérieurs aux statues pisistratiques, attestent aussi, pour leur part, la survivance du culte, aux lieux mêmes où les débris récupérés des premières effigies divines ont été retrouvés.

Grâce aux récentes trouvailles et études déliennes, l’Agora de dieux revit, dans l’île des Létoïdes, de façon plus vivante, semble-t-il, qu’aucune autre ailleurs; l'installation de l'Agora dite 'des Italiens' s'en accommoda plus tard et évita de l'exproprier, malgré quelques empiètements sur la bordure Nord.[39] Nous pouvons donc suivre, en ce lieu privilégié, une assez longue histoire, qui nous apparaît conservée mieux qu'ailleurs.

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[37] *BCH* LX (1936), 39 sqq.

[38] *Rev. art. anc. et moderne* LXV (1924), 81 sqq., 175 sqq.

Je n'entreprends pas de discuter ici les rapports des agoras divines, lieux d'assemblée des Immortels, avec les autels des Douze dieux, sur lesquels on a déjà beaucoup écrit. Les uns et les autres ne doivent point être confondus; mais il m'apparaît que les ἀγοραὶ θεῶν ont influencé au moins, et le culte célèbre des Douze dieux,[40] et, d'autre part, l'installation des agoras humaines.

Ch. Picard

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[39] *Cf.* le plan donné par R. Vallois, *BCH* LIII (1929), pl. 6.

[40] J'ai marqué au passage que les agoras divines ont été, çà et là, organisées sous le patronage des déesses-mères. Le culte des Douze dieux aussi. On le voit à Cyzique, à Ostie, par exemple. M. H. Metzger a découvert récemment, au musée d'Adalia, de nouveaux ex-voto aux Douze dieux lyciens. Sur un de ces ex-voto (Inv. 200: district de Kas), les dieux, armés, se rangent en deux groupes de six, de chaque côté d'une divinité *manifestement féminine*; ce qui ruine les théories d' O. Weinreich, d'après qui la treizième figure, dans cette catégorie d'ex-voto, aurait dû être celle de l'empereur, voire celle du Christ (entre les douze apôtres); cf. *Lykische Zwölfgötterreliefs*, *l.l.*—L'ex-voto no. 200 du Musée d'Adalia qui montre une déesse suzeraine parmi les douze dieux lyciens, porte une inscription nommant Artémis. C'est donc, là encore, une divinité féminine—une déesse-mère—qui occupe la place d'honneur, comme aussi, déjà, dans telle ou telle des agoras divines, par exemple à Lesbos (ci-dessus).

ACCIDENTAL AND INTENTIONAL RED GLAZE ON ATHENIAN VASES

(PLATES 14–17)

Professor Wace's many distinguished contributions to archaeology have been in a variety of fields. In all, however, he has kept an eye on the technical side of the problem, which so often illuminates our research. I, therefore, offer this investigation in his honour.

After Mr. Charles F. Binns had in 1929 published his theory of the firing of Athenian vases successively under oxidising, reducing, and re-oxidising conditions it became clear that the glaze on Greek vases turned red or black according to the conditions of the firing.[1] This theory has recently been endorsed and amplified by Mr. Theodor Schumann, a ceramic chemist, who, at the instigation of the well-known archaeologist Mr. Carl Weickert, conducted during the war a series of experiments in the chemical laboratory of the Schütte Akt. Ges. für Tonindustrie in Heisterholz, Westphalia, and at long last successfully imitated the Attic black glaze. Like Binns, he used as the only ingredients for the glaze a clay that contained iron—*i.e.* red-burning—and a small quantity of alkali (potash or soda).[2] His important new contribution was the peptising of the clay, whereby he eliminated the heavier particles. By using only the fluid made of the smaller and therefore lighter particles of the clay, he obtained a glaze of remarkable thinness, equal in quality and appearance to the Attic one.[3]

Both these theories are, of course, founded on the fact that in an oxidising fire, where there is an excess of air and oxygen, the carbon of the fuel combines with two atoms of oxygen to form carbon dioxide, whereas in a reducing fire, where the air is shut off and smoke introduced, the carbon monoxide will extract oxygen from the red ferric oxide present in the clay and convert it into black magnetic oxide of iron ($3Fe_2O_3 + CO = 2Fe_3O_4 + CO_2$).[4]

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[1] Binns and Fraser, 'The Genesis of the Greek Black Glaze', *AJA* XXXIII (1929), 5 ff.; Richter and Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, xliii f.; Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases* (1946), 28 f.

[2] Schumann, *Berichte der deutschen keramischen Gesellschaft* 23 (1942), 408 ff., and *Forschungen und Fortschritte* XIX (1943), 356 ff.; Weickert, *AA* 1942, 512 ff.; *American Ceramic Society Abstracts*, 23 [7] (1944), 120; Prins de Jong and Rijken, *American Ceramic Society Bulletin* 1946, 5 ff.; Lane, *Greek Pottery*, 4 ff.

[3] Mr. Weickert and Mr. Schumann pointed out that the Greek application is not a glaze in the technical sense, for it does not contain a sufficient quantity of alkali to make it melt at a high temperature. That I still continue to use the word glaze is simply because there seems to be no better term, since varnish, engobe, semi-glaze, and 'glaze' are all either incorrect or cumbrous. And after all, the Greek application, whatever its chemical nature, served physically the same purpose as a modern glaze. *Cf.* my statement in *Archaic Greek Art* (1949), 4 f., note 7 (endorsed by Miss Maude Robinson and Miss Marie Farnsworth).

[4] Both Miss Farnsworth and Mr. Schumann think that this formula is preferable to that of $CO + Fe_2O_3 = CO_2 + 2\,FeO$, for ferrous oxide (FeO) is non-magnetic and unstable, whereas the Greek black glaze and black magnetic oxide of iron (Fe_3O_4) are magnetic and stable (*cf.* Farnsworth, *Hesperia* IX (1940), 265; Schumann, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* IX (1943), 358).

An important factor in Schumann's new discovery is that the glaze, which turns red in the first (oxidising) stage of the firing and black in the second (reducing) stage, remains black in the final or third (re-oxidising) stage only where it was thickly applied, but is reconverted into red where it was thinly applied. The obvious reason for this is that in a thin layer the glaze—like the terracotta body—is porous enough to re-absorb the oxygen in the final stage of the firing, whereas in a thick layer it is not able to do so—at least not in the comparatively low temperature of about 950° C. at which Attic vases were fired. Mr. Weickert and Mr. Schumann kindly sent me samples illustrating the various stages of their experiments, and they were very convincing.

Armed with this new knowledge, we can now, I think, attack a number of technical problems with the hope of perhaps finding the right solution. I propose here to discuss the red-glazed areas that we occasionally encounter on Attic vases—distinguishable, of course, both from the ' reserved ' red of the terracotta body and from the red ochre wash [5] by their gloss. Some of these red-glazed areas are unintentional, mere accidents, due to faulty application or firing, others are clearly intentional.[6]

I. Accidental Red Glaze.

(*a*) By far the most numerous instances of red-glazed areas on Attic vases are caused by the accidental protection from reduction in the kiln. We are all familiar with this phenomenon. Either through stacking or through contact with a jet of air, an area was protected from the fumes introduced during the reducing fire, and so remained red.

A covered bowl in the Metropolitan Museum [7] is a convincing example of protection from reduction through stacking (PLATE 14, *a*, *b*). The bowl and its lid were evidently intended to be black throughout (with only the usual ' reserved ' red areas). But whoever fired the piece stacked the lid upside down, inside the bowl. Consequently, the inside of the bowl and most of the outside of the lid came out red. The circumference of the red area on the lid corresponds to the circumference of the rim of the bowl where the two touched, and, as the lid was apparently placed a little askew, the circle is asymmetrical. The fit was not tight, and some fumes penetrated into the interior, hence the occasional black streaks in the red areas. Such black intrusions are naturally frequent. Sometimes, in fact, the smoke was able to penetrate to the covered areas to such an extent that partial reduction took place, resulting in a brownish or greyish colour. These partially reduced areas are particularly frequent in kylikes that were stacked in the kiln.

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[5] On the red ochre wash—which was presumably applied on the whole surface of Attic vases, though it mostly survives only in such relatively protected areas as the undersides of the feet and handles—*cf.* my *Craft of Athenian Pottery* (1923), 53 ff., and *Attic Red-Figured Vases* (1946), 27 f.; also Hussong, *Zur Technik der attischen Gefässkeramik* (Heidelberg Diss., 1928), 23.

[6] My warm thanks are due to Miss Maude Robinson, potter, and Miss Mary Farnsworth, chemist, for constant help and advice in this research; to Mr. Theodor Schumann, with whom I carried on a lively correspondence during the last years, for his illuminating answers to my questions; and to Miss Lucy Talcott, for sending Mr. Schumann samples of intentional and accidental red glaze from Athens, which greatly assisted his investigations.

[7] Acc. no. 23.43. *BullMetrMus* XVIII (1923), 127; Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 150. On stacking, *cf.* Binns, *op. cit.*, 6, 7; Richter and Hall, *op. cit.*, xlii; Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, 33, 172, notes 121, 122, and my forthcoming *CVA* fascicule on black-figured kylikes in the Metropolitan Museum.

A neck amphora in the Metropolitan Museum with a large red spot on one side (PLATE 15, *c*)[8] may serve as an example of protection from reduction through contact with a jet of air. The latter probably entered through a tiny crack in the kiln wall near which the vase had been placed.[9]

(*b*) There are other red-glazed areas, however, also evidently unintentional, that cannot be due to protection from reduction in the kiln, and for which another explanation must be found. A case in point is a volute krater in the British Museum.[10] Here, in the scene of Cassandra and Ajax and in the patterns on the upper part of the neck and under the handles, some parts of the background (including the contour stripes) are reddish, whereas immediately adjacent areas are black (PLATE 14, *c*, *d*). An examination of the vase—with Mr. Ashmole and Mr. Martin Robertson in 1948—supplied an answer to this puzzling phenomenon. Evidently the painter had applied his glaze too thinly, and when he realised his mistake, he added a second coating. In this second application, however, he missed some parts, and he did not take the trouble to go over the contour stripes around the figures and the patterns. So these thinly coated parts, being porous enough to re-absorb the oxygen during the third stage of the firing, became red again.

We can find many instances of such re-oxidised areas on Attic vases. A surface painted with a full brush will show up jet black, but, perhaps near the edges or wherever the coating was thinner, it will appear reddish. Sometimes, perhaps through careless handling of the ware in placing it in the kiln, a vase came into too close contact with the kiln wall or with another vase, so that some of the glaze was rubbed off and that area then became red in the re-oxidising fire.[11] This would explain why red spots sometimes occur in conjunction with dents.

(*c*) A third type of unintentional red is likewise a not uncommon phenomenon. It, too, has puzzled us for a long time. It occurs when the black glaze has peeled in places and has exposed a glossy surface underneath. This red I once tentatively explained, at Mr. Binns' suggestion, as 'the red ochre wash' that had become vitrified through contact with the glaze.[12] Mr. Schumann, after examining two samples sent him by Miss Talcott from Athens, provisionally came to the same conclusion—pending further study with more material.[13] If this explanation proves to be correct, it incidentally endorses the theory of an all-over red ochre application (see note 5).

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[8] Acc. no. GR. 607. Richter, *Craft*, 45, 50, fig. 49. Sir John Beazley now thinks the vase is Campanian, not Attic, but it will serve my purpose, as the red shows up well in the photograph.

[9] Such cracks are produced also nowadays, Mr. Schumann informs me, and are due to successive heatings and coolings of the kiln. In his opinion such cracks must have been by far the commonest cause of the red spots on Greek vases, not, as we had thought, contact with other vases; for the fumes of the reducing fire are liable to penetrate through every crevice. Moreover, contact with another vase would take place only in a very limited area, and so would produce only relatively small red spots (see below), not the often extensive red areas observed on Greek vases.

[10] E 470. Beazley, *ARV* 430; Talcott in Vanderpool, *Hesperia* XV (1946), 286.

[11] This is Mr. Schumann's suggestion.

II. Intentional Red (Beazley's Coral Red)

Some of the red-glazed areas on Attic vases are, however, clearly not accidental but intentional. They occur principally on cups and bowls. The red and the black glaze are effectively contrasted in precisely defined areas—a black lip set off against a red-glazed bowl (*cf.* PLATE 15, *a*, *b*), or a black medallion in the interior (with decoration in reserved red) set off against a surrounding red-glazed area (*cf.* PLATE 16, *b*), or a red-figured scene on the exterior set off against a red-glazed bottom (*cf.* PLATE 16, *c*), or, most remarkable of all, a black-figured decoration on a red-glazed background (*cf.* PLATES 15, *d*, 17).

Such instances are comparatively rare.[14] They range in date from about 540 to 460 B.C., and had a wide distribution (Greece, Cyprus, Rhodes, Russia, Italy, etc.). We may mention a few of the most important: the kylix in Munich with Dionysos in a sailboat, by Exekias (PLATE 17);[15] the kylix in Munich with a horseman, by Euphronios;[16] the kylix in Paris with a komast, by Skythes (PLATE 16, *b*);[17] the kylix from the Agora with a disk-thrower,[18] and the kylix in London with a girl picking apples, by the Sotades Painter.[19] In stemless cups and bowls, datable near the turn of the century, the technique is fairly common (*cf.* PLATE 15, *a*, *b*). Occasionally it is found also on Ionian cups.[20]

How was this control possible? How were the areas that were intended to come out red prevented from being reduced in the second stage of the firing? Mr. Binns, whom I consulted on this point years ago, was convinced that the red and the black glaze were identical in make up, but that in some way the areas that were to come out red were protected from reduction, perhaps by having something applied over them; but how this was done, he could not tell.[21] Miss Talcott and Mr. Vanderpool a few years ago suggested that there was some difference in the ingredients used in the red-burning and the black-burning glaze, but they could not say what the difference might be.[22]

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[12] In Richter and Hall, *op. cit.*, xxxviii and note 74; Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, 27 f.

[13] I may quote from his letter dated April 26, 1950: '*Die beiden Scherben* (the ones sent by Miss Talcott) *hatten eine sehr helle, gelbliche Brennfarbe. Ich kann mir denken, dass diese Farbe den griechischen Töpfern neben dem schönen Schwarz nicht gefallen hat. Aus diesem Grunde wird man die Gefässe zunächst mit einer rotbrennenden Engobe überzogen haben, wie es heute in der Keramik noch üblich ist. Erst auf diese Engobe wird man die Tontinte* (*i.e.* the black glaze) *aufgemalt haben. Die rote Engobe ist viel gröber als die Tontinte und wird deshalb leichter reoxydiert. Wenn sie dennoch etwas glänzend ist, so wird das Alkali der Tontinte darauf eingewirkt haben unde ine sog. Sinterengobe gebildet haben*'.

[14] *Cf.* e.g. Pottier, *MonPiot* X (1903), 53 f.; Richter and Hall, *op. cit.*, xliv, note 117; Vanderpool, *Hesperia* XV (1946), 285 ff.

[15] No. 2044. *FR* I, 227 ff., pl. 42.

[16] No. 2620. *FR* I, 98 ff., pl. 22; Beazley, *op. cit.*, 17, no. 14.

[17] F. 129. Beazley, *op. cit.*, 75, no. 19.

[18] P. 2698. *Hesperia* XV (1946), pl. 35, no. 52.

[19] D 6. Beazley, *op. cit.*, 450, no. 1.

[20] *Cf.* Kunze, *AM* LIX (1934), 83 ff., pl. VI, no. 1: '*Die Innenseite der Wandung ist unter den scharf abgesetzten Rand mit hochglänzender siegellackroter Glasur überzogen, die im Gegensatz zur schwarzen Glasur leicht abblättert*'.

When I first received Mr. Weickert's and Mr. Schumann's samples, I thought the answer was simple, namely, that the areas that were to come out red were given a thin application of glaze, those intended to be black a thicker one. The thinly applied glaze would re-oxidise in the third stage of the firing and become red, the thickly applied glaze would remain black. I soon found, however, that this theory did not meet the requirements, for the red glaze is often quite as thick as the black one. Moreover, my theory did not explain the frequent peeling of this glaze (observed also by Miss Talcott and Mr. Vanderpool [23]); for thinly applied glaze would adhere even more firmly to the body than a thick application.

Last year I put up the problem to Mr. Schumann. As this intentional red glaze is difficult to describe in a letter to a non-archaeologist, and as the Metropolitan Museum had no available fragments to send (only three whole stemless cups that could not be broken up even in a good cause), Miss Talcott came to the rescue and sent a small fragment from the Agora to Heisterholz. After many experiments Mr. Schumann offered what seemed at first a surprising solution. He suggested the following procedure. At the beginning only those parts of the vases that were to come out black were painted; the vases were then placed in the kiln and subjected to the first two stages of the firing—the oxidising and the reducing; the firing was then interrupted, the pieces allowed to cool, and taken out of the kiln; whereupon those parts were painted that were to come out red; finally, the pieces were replaced in the kiln and fired in an oxidising fire. The newly painted areas came out red, since they had undergone no reduction, whereas the previously painted parts, having been through the reducing fire and having had a thick application of glaze, remained black.

Mr. Schumann in reporting this theory to me said that he at first hesitated to believe that the Greeks used this method, for it seemed cumbrous; moreover, the glaze would be apt not to adhere firmly on fired clay. But then he recalled that I had written him that vases with intentional red glaze were relatively scarce, and that one of the characteristics of this intentional red glaze was that it often peeled. These two observations reinforced him in his belief that he had perhaps found the right solution.

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[21] *Cf.* Richter and Hall, *op. cit.*, xliv.

[22] *Hesperia* XV (1946), 285 ff. It is indeed difficult to think of a glaze containing iron, and therefore red-burning, that would not turn black in the reducing fire (*cf.* the chemical formula cited above).

[23] *Ibid.*, 286. *Cf.* also Kunze, *AM* LIX (1934), 83 ff. According to Dr. Schumann, the fact that the 'intentional' red glaze adheres, after all, fairly well to the body shows that the first firing (both oxidising and reducing) must have been at a low temperature.

It is obvious that this theory can be accepted only if it can be shown that in every extant example the intentional red glaze was applied after the black glaze; that is, in no case may the black glaze overlap the red glaze, rather the red glaze must occasionally overlap the black.

To settle this crucial point I first examined the three stemless cups in the Metropolitan Museum;[24] and, in the summer of 1949, several specimens in Boston;[25] then, in the autumn of the same year (with the kind help of Mr. Charbonneaux), the kylix F 129 in the Louvre (PLATE 16, *b*), and the two kylikes from Munich by Exekias (PLATE 17) and Euphronios, temporarily exhibited in Berne (aided by Mr. Bloesch). In all these vases we found no instance in which the black glaze overlapped the red glaze, but numerous instances in which the red glaze had gone over the black. A convincing example that can be observed even in the illustration is the kylix in the Louvre (PLATE 16, *b*, from a photograph taken with infra-red light). Here the red glaze that surrounds the central medallion and which was evidently applied on the wheel (with the cup not properly centred), overlaps the black along the bottom edge of the medallion. The kylix by Exekias (PLATE 17) is particularly illuminating. Here too the red glaze has occasionally gone over the black band surrounding the rim of the cup. Moreover, in the difficult task of applying the red glaze around the ship, the dolphins, and the vine-tree, the painter sometimes put in a contour stripe and then painted over this stripe, so that in these places there was a double thickness of glaze. If this thick application had gone through a reducing fire it would have come out black. Instead, it is a brilliant red. The only explanation would seem to be that the glaze that came out red was at no time reduced. Moreover, the blotchy appearance of the red-glazed background is best explained by the fact that the glaze was applied after the black-figured decoration. Otherwise it would have been put on evenly, with the wheel spinning around, like the red-glazed area in the Louvre kylix (PLATE 16, *b*).

These findings have been endorsed and expanded by my colleagues. After examining the sixteen specimens from the Agora[26] (*cf.* PLATES 15, *a*, *b*, 16, *c*) Miss Talcott reported in a letter, dated February 13, 1950, that in no case did the black overlap the red (but see below), whereas in several instances the red overlapped the black, and concluded, ‘ So far as there is any evidence from these pieces, it is all in favour of the red glaze being applied after the black ’. Her descriptions also showed that in the red areas the glaze had frequently peeled.

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[24] Acc. nos. 74.51.1384 (CP 2028); 74.51.1385 (CP 2029), both from Cyprus (Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, nos. 1733, 1734); X.21.30. All three kylikes will be published in the forthcoming *CVA* fascicule on black-figured kylikes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[25] Acc. no. 30.791. Beazley, *op. cit.*, 456, no. 5; 13.4503.

[26] Inv. P. 1265, 2698, 7690, 10359, 1473, 2772, 7267, 8829, 9037, 15952, 16001, 18505, 11049, 19154, 16488, 16753.

In a letter dated March 12, 1950, Mr. Peter Corbett gave me a report on the six examples of intentional red glaze in the British Museum.[27] Again in no instance did the black overlap the red, whereas in several the red had gone over the black. Moreover, in almost every case, the red glaze had considerably peeled.

In a letter dated April 4, 1950, Mr. Antonio Minto answered my enquiry regarding the intentional red on the kylix signed by Kachrylion, in the Archaeological Museum, of Florence,[28] as follows: ‘ also in our specimen it is clear that the red glaze was applied after the black glaze, both on the inside and on the outside of the kylix ’.

Mr. B. B. Shefton kindly sent me a report in June 1950 on two fragments with intentional red that had been found at Perachora. One was from the lip of a stemless cup in which the red overlapped the black, the other from the foot of a bowl, black outside, red inside.

I may also mention that in 1948 I received a letter from Sir John Beazley with whom I had discussed the problem at the time when I thought the intentional red glaze might be due to a thin application. In this letter he had asked a pertinent question: ‘ In London 64.10–7.1604 and 64.10–7.327 the coral red was put *on top* of the black dot-and-circle decoration; how do you explain this? ’ Mr. Schumann’s theory now supplies an answer.

Before concluding, however, we must record what at first seemed a puzzle. In the kylix with the black dog, Agora P 10359 (PLATE 15, *d*), though the red glaze of the background goes over the black ground line, the black hairs of the dog under its belly and around its tail go over the red (according to a report sent me by Miss Talcott and Mr. D. von Bothmer in the spring of 1950). The same applies, Mr. v. Bothmer tells me, to the tips of the black feathers in Eros’s wings on the kylix by Kachrylion in Florence (see note 28). If in these kylikes the red would not elsewhere go over the black the phenomenon could be explained by the theory that the red in these two instances was applied thinly and so re-oxidised in the third stage of the firing (*cf.* p. 147). But how can we account for the fact that the red overlaps the black in some places and the black overlaps the red in others?

Again I consulted Dr. Schumann. He propounded the following theory and illustrated it by a sample made in his own laboratory. The procedure, he thinks, was the same as in the other cases of intentional red glaze (*cf.* p. 147), but before the painting of the figures the whole surface was covered with a thin application of glaze, thin enough to re-oxidise and become red again in the re-oxidising fire. The black relief lines of dog and Eros would then be seen against the re-oxidised glaze whereas the glaze applied subsequently (after the reducing fire) might overlap the black here and there. A line of demarcation between the two reds would not necessarily be visible, for they would fuse in the high temperature of the second firing.

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[27] D 6; 97.10–28.2; 64.10–7.1604; 64.10–7.327; 91.8–6.78; 1901.7–11.3. In the phiale 1901.7–11.3 Mr. Corbett reported that in the red of the bowl (set off against a black offset lip) a small patch had fired black in the exterior and a wide area of the interior had also fired black. An explanation of this must be, according to Mr. Schumann, that the firing was not purely oxidising.

[28] Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases* I, 153; Beazley, *ARV*, 82, no. 4.

This theory would satisfactorily explain the phenomenon in question. The simple device of first applying a red ' Lasur ' enabled the painter to have the black lines of hairs and feathers show up against a red background without having laboriously to paint between these lines.[29] The blotchy appearance of the red background in the Agora kylix suggests that this background was painted after the dog and so could not be applied on the wheel.

With this evidence at hand it seems safe to accept Mr. Schumann's theory, at least until a better explanation is offered. The necessity of a second firing would explain the scarce use made of the ' coral ' red, which otherwise might have found great favour; for the contrasting brilliant red and black are undeniably effective. Instead, these vases were apparently produced in relatively small quantities, for about two generations, and then their manufacture stopped.[30]

Gisela M. A. Richter

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[29] I suspect that this is the case also with the hairs of the mane and tail of the horse on the kylix with intentional red by Psiax in Odessa (Beazley, *ARV*, 11, no. 31). I saw this cup in 1930 in Leningrad and owe the photograph reproduced in my PLATE 16, *a* to the kindness of Miss Peredolski.

[30] The bowl and the amphora in New York (PLATES 14, *a*, *b*, 15, *c*) are reproduced through the courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, the volute krater in London (PLATE 14, *c*, *d*) through the courtesy of B. Ashmole, the kylix in the Louvre (PLATE 16, *b*) through the courtesy of J. Charbonneaux, the pieces in the Agora Museum (PLATES 15, *a*, *b*, *d*, 16, *c*) through the courtesy of L. Talcott, and the kylix in Munich (PLATE 17) through the courtesy of H. Diepolder.

THE PLACE OF VASE-PAINTING IN GREEK ART

'The vases of the classical period are but the reflection of classical beauty; the vases of the archaic period are archaic beauty itself.' So Beazley; an indisputable and valuable truth, but a truth that needs some explanation. In spite of all the detailed work that has been done in the last fifty years and more on the development of Greek vase-painting and its relation to other arts, its nature still remains something of a problem. The issue is confused, of course, by the fact that vase-paintings are almost our only original Greek drawings—almost the only key-hole through which we can peep at archaic and classical painting—and this gives them an importance independent of their intrinsic worth. Quite apart from this, however, Greek painted vases, looked at with detachment, are a very curious phenomenon. It is particularly clear from works of vase-painting's greatest century—the best black-figure and red-figure of the ripe and late archaic periods—that we have to do with a combination of the craft of pottery with the art of draughtsmanship that has no real parallel elsewhere. This leads some to dislike Greek vases altogether; a reaction due I think to a conservative habit of mind which, being accustomed to regard a pot and a picture as two separate and incompatible entities, is not prepared to recognise the combination as possibly good. The Greeks evidently had no such prejudice, and they combined the two elements with (as it seems to me) perfect success in the archaic period but not in the classical. I want in a few pages to trace the development of vase-painting in Greece, trying to discover why this should be so. I shall not be very original, but I hope to do something towards clearing the air and rendering unnecessary the rather uneasy, equivocal attitude to vase-painting discernible at present in many books that deal with the general history of Greek, or of archaic, art.[1]

Painted pottery has a very long history in Greek lands. It occurs of course in most early cultures of the Mediterranean and the Near East, but rarely with the richness and variety of Minoan and Mycenaean. Nevertheless, even in the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures, vase-painting is always a minor, a craftsman's, art. Some motives—flowers and sea-creatures—are common to wall-painting and vase-painting, but on vases they are always treated as elements of a more or less formal decoration; there is no attempt to transfer to vases the landscape or, until a late phase of Mycenaean vase-painting, the figure-work of wall-painting. In Late Mycenaean vase-painting indeed figure-work does appear, and is clearly related to that of major painting: the Warrior Vase and the common chariot scenes must echo wall-pictures; but they echo them in vase-decorator's shorthand, much as the pictures on majolica pots echo fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian painting, and the delightful bulls and birds that spread their patterned surfaces over other Mycenaean craters of this time are almost purely decorative. In the decline of Mycenaean culture vase-painters, while losing some of their technical mastery, move further towards formalism. Many motives with an origin in natural forms remain in use, but with no trace of naturalistic feeling. The abandonment of these motives in favour of a more restricted repertory of patterns purely formal even in origin, accompanied by changes in the shapes of pottery, is what marks the break between sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric; for artistically it is, I am convinced, properly described as a break: Mycenaean art was dead and Greek art had begun.

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[1] This equivocal attitude is fostered by the practice of reproducing drawings of vase-paintings instead of photographs. Drawings are an indispensible adjunct to photographs for the specialist, but mainly harmful in a wider use. Photographs are inevitably distorted, but for this very reason remind the reader that the picture is not only a picture but the decoration of a vase. Flattened drawings, apart from the interposition of the modern draughtsman's mind and hand, obliterate the memory of the vase whose form conditioned the character of the picture.

Nevertheless, although Protogeometric pottery is the beginning of a new artistic tradition, there is nothing new in its technique and craft beyond a gradual recovery in quality. It is an indigenous development, and the first Protogeometric potters were trained in sub-Mycenaean workshops as surely as the first red-figure vase-painters were trained in black-figure workshops half a millennium later. Other crafts must have lasted through in the same way, with a similar break of artistic continuity. There was certainly a total cessation of the free arts of painting and sculpture, and though surviving monuments of Mycenaean architecture played a part in influencing the growth of Greek architecture in the seventh century, there was no continuous monumental tradition, only an impoverished craft of building on a small scale. Metalwork certainly continued as a utilitarian craft with hardly a thought of its aesthetic possibilities; and the same must be true of such crafts as carpentry and weaving, of which no trace now survives. It is certainly in vase-painting that we can trace most clearly and minutely the growth of Greek art from this point for three hundred years or so, and in the early stages it is in vase-painting alone. This could be due merely to the power of survival of baked pottery, but I believe that vase-painting did actually hold a special position at the beginning of Greek art, such as it had never held in pre-Hellenic Greece, and that it was this fact that led to the peculiar character it exhibits later, in the archaic period.

The development of the Geometric style seems to me to make this conclusion inevitable. It begins, of course, with Protogeometric, in a system of vase-decoration by purely abstract geometric designs, and this continues into the ripe Geometric style of the ninth century, with only some change and elaboration of the motives, and a more consistent application of them in graded zones to cover the whole surface, and emphasise the clear form, of the vase. Then figure-scenes begin to be introduced into the decoration, and the figures are not only strictly conceptual in structure, but strictly geometric. The conceptual as opposed to the visual approach to representation is normal in primitive art, but there is no necessary link between the conceptual and the geometric: witness in Greece itself the ' Cycladic idols ' of an earlier age, which are strictly conceptual and formal, but composed on entirely different formulae from the linear angularity of Geometric figures.[2] It is in fact clear that the approximation to geometric diagrams of figures on Geometric vases is a deliberate part of the decorative design, so that they shall harmonise with the abstract ornaments that surround them and not break the patterned surface of the vase.

This of course is not incompatible with the existence of a free art of painting, imitated by the vase-decorator but geometrised to suit his decorative purpose. Two things, however, seem to rule out this possibility: the character of Geometric bronze statuettes, and the effect of oriental influence on late Geometric vase-painting.[3] The finest bronzes of the Geometric period are small figures of horses on bases, and these again are not only conceptual but also exceedingly angular and geometric; in fact they are essentially conceived as two profiles, each just like the silhouette of a horse on a Geometric vase. There are other bronzes of the period which show a much less geometric character, notably little figures of cattle without a base, but they are also rougher work showing much less art: the finer the work of art the more geometric. From this I find an inescapable conclusion that vase-painting was the dominant art of the time. There was a good decorative reason for the vase-painter to stylise his figures in a geometric direction; none for the maker of bronze figurines to do so. If a school of major painting or sculpture had existed it would have had no reason to develop geometric formulae; and if it had existed with different formulae the makers of bronze statuettes would not be found imitating vase-painting.

The effect on vase-painting of the impact of oriental art tells the same story. In late Geometric vase-painting there are signs of a greater interest in figure-work for its own sake. Instead of making the figure-panels as like as possible to the purely decorative elements surrounding them, so that at a glance a ripe Geometric figured vase and one without figures look much the same, there is a tendency to isolate and emphasise the figures and to reduce the variety and elaboration of the friezes of abstract ornament. Clearly the Geometric ideal is ceasing to satisfy, but equally the vase-painter has found nothing positive to put in its place: his figures are still the angular silhouettes invented to harmonise with the surrounding ornament. It took contact with the quite different, more naturalistic, conventions of Phoenician art, with Assyrian and Egyptian art behind it, to show Greek artists their way out of the Geometric *impasse*, and the readiness with which they rushed into the new style is evidence of how cramped they already felt in the old.

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[2] It is noteworthy that the charming little horses surreptitiously introduced on a few Protogeometric vases (Kübler, *Kerameikos* IV, pl. 27) are conceptual enough but not geometric. They have no connection with the Geometric figure-style proper, but are rather the last gasp of the sub-Mycenaean tradition of reducing naturalistic motives to formal cyphers. The plastic stag (*ibid.* pl. 26) is in similar case.

[3] The practice of placing huge vases on tombs, where Mycenaeans before and archaic Greeks after placed reliefs or statues, might also be taken as an argument for the absolute primacy of pottery and vase-painting among the arts of the Geometric period.

There was no oriental vase-painting of any significance, and oriental art reached Greece first in metal-work and ivory, and probably textiles and embroideries. The earliest important examples of its influence are the Cretan bronze shields, crude and clumsy copies of oriental originals; but seventh-century Greek metal-work shows a splendid re-creation of oriental ideas, and vase-painting with its different technique and strong native tradition, never passed through a phase of servile copying. It took some time, however, to find a way of absorbing the new influence into a wholly satisfying form of vase-ornamentation. It is clear, I think, that under this influence Greek vase-painters stumbled on the idea that drawing can be practised for its own sake and not merely as a form of decoration, and from this point the free art of painting must have developed in Greece. It would be going beyond the evidence to assert that the earliest Greek painters on panel or wall were vase-painters or vase-painters' pupils who turned to the new craft, but I think it likely; certain that vase-painters set about finding new formulae for vase-decoration with no sense of inferiority to free painters.

Once painters were practising their free art, however, and especially after, early in the seventh century, they had come into direct contact with Egyptian painting (as Greek sculptors did at the same time with Egyptian sculpture), they inevitably exploited their freedom in ways that were not open to the vase-decorators; and yet the vase-painter was interested in these developments and wanted to adapt them to his own purpose. Thus after the beginning of the Orientalising period Greek vase-painting never again displays such a pure decorative system as Geometric: its success throughout the archaic period is due to a series of brilliant compromises between emulation of free painting and the demands of decoration; its failure in the early classical period to advances made in free painting in their nature insusceptible of adaptation to vase-decoration as the Greek vase-painter understood it.

By the middle of the seventh century free painting and vase-painting had clearly established their different ways, and we are given a lucky glimpse of free painting's way. Payne has clearly demonstrated that the group of Protocorinthian vases decorated with elaborate compositions in polychrome technique, which begins in the second quarter and culminates in the third with the Chigi vase, echoes the style of contemporary free painting.[4] The close resemblance in colour-scheme and composition of these pictures, which stand by themselves in vase-painting, to the slightly later metopes from Thermon is sufficient proof of the origin of the style, and it is interesting that the provincial free paintings are inferior in quality to the metropolitan vase-paintings. The pictures on the vases of the Chigi group are beautiful, but they are near the edge of what a Greek vase-painter considered suitable for vase-decoration. They found no successors, and other vase-painters had already evolved a more satisfying compromise in the technique and style known as black-figure. The Greek vase-decorator was always extremely conscious of the curved *surface* of the vase as his decorative field; and recession, even of such a schematic kind as is found on the Chigi vase, is hostile to the surface and the curve. Outline drawing, and even polychromy, though less actively hostile, are at best weak on the curved surface and distract the eye from a sense of its full roundness. Geometric figures had been in silhouette, and the seventh-century vase-painter found the answer to his problem in silhouette of a new kind: drawn with the new freedom and fullness, enlivened with incision and added colour, but achieving its effect mainly by the bold black silhouette on the light ground of the vase.

By this compromise vase-painters admitted that the full freedom of painting on wall or panel was not for them, but they did not abate their quality. I have said that the Thermon metopes are inferior to the Chigi vase; they are no less so to a masterpiece of late seventh century Athenian black-figure like the Nessos amphora at Athens; and for a century or so vase-painting maintains a development within this chosen convention, parallel to the development of free-painting and sculpture: a different art, a smaller one, but not qualitatively inferior.

A statue like the Moschophoros or the Peplos Kore is, by its monumental nature, something grander than a painted vase or a vase-painting can ever be, but it is no more exquisitely fine than a masterpiece by Nearchos or Exekias; and in the latter's best work there is a deeper emotional content more subtly expressed than in any contemporary sculpture. Nor is it to be found in the unpublished paintings on panel from a cave near Sicyon—as fine but no finer in handling, showing a different idea of composition and colour-scheme, but no essential difference of conception or achievement.

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[4] *Necrocorinthia*, 92 ff. The suggestion, without the illusion, of recession in the Chigi battle, achieved by overlapping planes, which was noted by Payne as evidently derived from free painting, finds a close parallel in the metope of three seated goddesses. This has undergone re-painting of details at a later date, but clearly retains its original composition.

Exekias, however, marks a limit. One is surprised to find silhouette and incision able to convey so much. They do it in no other hands, and in the next generation one feels that vase-painters are playing with their technique, as though they do not know how to get any more out of it. One sign of this discontent is the invention of the so-called red-figure technique, which to its inventors seems to have been simply a decorative variation on black-figure—black-figure in reverse and no more. It had advantages and disadvantages. While preserving the principle of silhouette, it allowed the greater part of the vase to be covered with lustrous black glaze (thereby laying the greatest possible emphasis on the curved surface) without producing the awkwardly window-like effect of a panel reserved on a black vase for a black-figure scene. On the other hand it is a tricky technique of drawing, requiring a much more elaborate preliminary sketch than black-figure to avoid irreparable mistakes. So for a generation or two the two techniques continue side by side on equal terms. Younger artists like Epiktetos find new advantages in the new technique: freer, suppler drawing with the brush instead of the graver; clearer less crowded compositions, depending more on harmonious contour and less on surface detail. The new technique, in fact, is developed into a new style, but it is only in the general revolution of Greek art at the end of the sixth century that the difference becomes important.

This revolution is the first stage in the transformation of archaic into classical, and brings about the brief but lovely phase of late archaic. Sculpture like the Siphnian frieze, the Hekatompedon pediment fragments and the Acropolis Theseus torso are rightly compared to early red-figure, but the black-figure of the Andokides painter, Psiax, and the Antimenes painter expresses the same spirit. But in the sculpture of the end of the century—the Eretria Theseus and Antiope (a grand conception marred by unattractive mannerisms of detail) and especially the small but splendid metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi—there is a new feeling for physical and emotional stress expressed through violent and complicated poses and groups, to which black-figure is unequal. The artists of the Leagros Group made a gallant effort to modify the old style to the new spirit, but black-figure, depending as it does on the sharp lines of the graver, can only effectively embody a style possessed of a certain formality, even stiffness. The new movement requires the suppler, subtler lines of red-figure, and the vases of Euthymides and Euphronios can stand comparison with the Delphi metopes: vase-painting was still capable of attaining, in its own small way, the same heights as sculpture.

In the seventh century, when vase-painting ceased to be the leading art of Greece, it might have sunk into a simple craft, but the tradition of its primacy kept great artists in it, and by adopting the black-figure technique they found a way of keeping up with contemporary art without relinquishing their primary position of decorators. With red-figure they renewed their lease for the late archaic summer; but in the developments of early classical painting they faced a problem which admitted of no such solution. It is clear that up to the end of the archaic period relief-sculpture and painting were governed by the same principles: no illusionistic recession; one ground-line on which the feet of all figures rest; and an arrangement of figures, whether paratactic or overlapping, as a frieze against an uncharacterised background with which they have no organic connection. The artists in fact conceived their wall or panel or slab as a *surface* to be decorated, and their principles therefore were easily adapted to vase-painting. Polygnotos in the early classical period was the first to conceive of a painting not merely as decoration of a surface but as a feigned window on to space. So doing he created painting in the modern sense, and entered a world where the Greek vase-painter could not follow him.

The attempt of the Niobid painter and his companions to transfer Polygnotan compositions to red-figure vases is a disastrous compromise; not so much because composition in depth is necessarily unsuitable to the curved surface of a vase, though by the Greek vase-painter's standard it is so, as because the silhouetting of the figures on the black ground is absolutely incompatible with an effect of space or depth. In fact it is clear that red-figure is a technique in which it is no longer possible for the vase-painter to reflect the advances of contemporary free painting. The painters of the Penthesilea cup and the Bologna Amazonomachy krater contrived, without relinquishing the vase-decorator's conventions, to convey something of the spirit of the new style, but one cannot compare their works for quality with the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, as one can the vase-paintings of Euthymides with the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Red-figure now is slipping into the position of black-figure then. It is noteworthy that the finest red-figure painter of the time, the Pan painter, is a *retardataire* who makes his style a piquant variation on that of his late archaic masters. There is a closely parallel movement in contemporary sculpture, illustrated by the charming running girl from Eleusis; but in sculpture it is a minor movement, while it is the best that red-figure vase-painting can do.

In the crisis of the early archaic period, when vase-painters first became aware of the necessity of compromising between their rigid sense of what was right for the decoration of a vase and their desire to emulate the freedom of painters on wall or panel, they compromised happily on the black-figure technique. In the late archaic crisis the red-figure technique saved them. In this last crisis of the early classical period there was another technique at hand, the white-ground, and in it the last great works of Greek vase-painting were produced, but it was not developed to preserve vase-painting as a serious art into the classical age.

Drawing in outline and colour-wash on a white-ground had been practised occasionally from the later sixth century, mainly on the inside of cups, where there is no receding surface to demand the greater strength of silhouette, and on little vases like alabastra, meant to be turned in the hand. As red-figure had begun as a merely decorative variation on black-figure, so white-ground to begin with is little more than a decorative variation on red-figure; but gradually, by the use of a softer, more diluted colour for the outlines, and the freer addition of other colours, it moves away from red-figure and towards free painting. The Pistoxenos painter's Aphrodite on the Goose must be very close indeed to contemporary work on panel, but it still shows no real departure from the established principles of vase-painting: there is no ground-line, it is true, but the flying group is not really conceived spatially but set flatly on a neutral ground, exactly as Exekias's black-figure Ship of Dionysos, painted three-quarters of a century before.

With the Sotades painter's little cups, however, especially that with the subject identified as the death of Opheltes, painted like the Aphrodite about 460 B.C., we are in a different world. The delicate outline and wash technique is entirely suited to the composition: figures set about the field, among landscape elements, in the Polygnotan manner; and I am convinced that this minute but immensely vigorous picture gives us a nearer notion than anything else of a Polygnotan wall-painting. But is it good vase-decoration? Personally I do not mind the conversion of a cup-bottom into a window on the world, but it seems that the Greeks did mind; at least it is a break with tradition that finds no true successors. The white-ground technique seems never to have really satisfied the Greek idea of what is due to the strictly decorative aspects of vase-painting: the necessity, traceable from Geometric to red-figure, of always covering and emphasising the curved surface of the vessel. So white-ground remained throughout the fifth century a side-line of red-figure, dominated by red-figure ideas, and died out early in the fourth, while red-figure flourished, if that is the word, for another hundred years. But having lost touch with free painting, vase-painting gradually loses its own quality during the fifth and fourth centuries: that is to say, it loses the allegiance of true artists. Any young Exekias of the Periclean age will have left the Kerameikos to apprentice himself to Panainos or some other painter on panel or wall. The first art of Greece, a small-scale but still a true and forward art in the archaic period, sinks now into a craft; but a craft burdened with a tradition of elaborate figure-painting that no longer has any justification. It is this crippling heritage that makes the later red-figure, whether of Athens or South Italy, so distressing; and makes us meet with such relief the gay nonsense of Gnathia in Italy and the simple neo-Geometric of the Athenian West Slope ware: straightforward, pleasant pottery with no pretensions to being fine art.

Martin Robertson

MEGARON UND HOFHAUS IN DER ÄGÄIS DES 3–2. JAHRTAUSENDS V. CHR.

Mitten auf dem von einem starken Mauerring umgebenen Hügel der zweiten Stadt von Troja liegen die vier Herrenhäuser, Megara langgestreckter Form mit tiefer und offener, nach Südosten gerichteter Vorhalle. Es sind einzellige Hallenbauten, die eine Unterteilung in zwei oder mehrere Innenräume nur beschränkt zulassen. Wo größere Raumbedürfnisse auftreten, müssen wie in Troja mehrere solcher Hallenbauten nebeneinander hingestellt werden. Ihre Bauweise nutzt zweifellos die Erfahrungen Alt-Anatoliens und des gleichzeitigen Vorderasiens. Ihre Bauästhetik dagegen—streng richtungsgebundene Achse durch Vorhalle, Tor bis zum Herd im Innern, anthropoide Proportion, unmittelbare Zugänglichkeit—findet nichts Entsprechendes im vorderen Orient oder in Ägypten, ja widerstreitet allen dort verbreiteten Wohnformen und Baugewohnheiten.[1] Zu den Herrenhäusern gehören die Reste einer Hofmauer und eines Tores. Die Hofanlage nimmt Rücksicht nur auf die offenbar älteren Megara A und B, mit denen sie gleich-

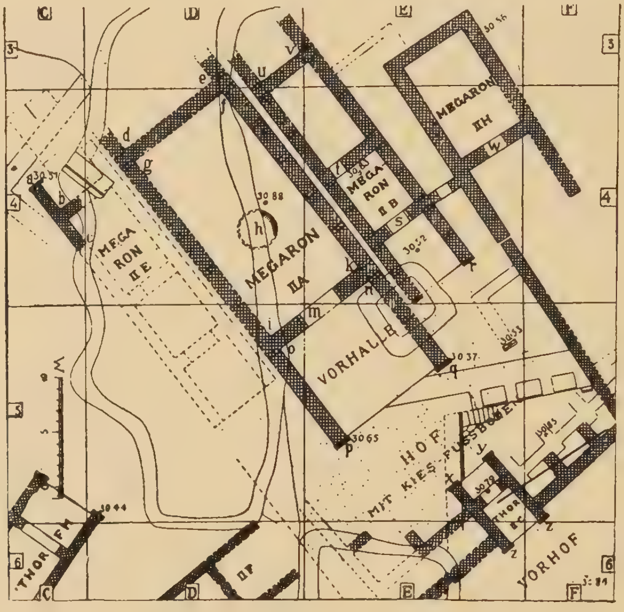
C
D
E
F
3
4
5
6
MEGARON IIH
MEGA RON IIB
MEGA RON IIE
MEGARON IIA
VORHALLE
HOF MIT KIES-FUSSBODEN
THOR FM
THOR FC
VORHOF
IIF
30.88
30.65
30.37
30.44
h

Abb. 1.—Troia II, Megara.

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[1] Vgl. L. Curtius, *Die antike Kunst* II i 29 f. B. Schweitzer, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I (1939), 376 f.

zeitig war; bei der Errichtung der Megara E und H wurde sie teilweise abgerissen und blieb nur dort noch stehen, wo sie noch weiter von Nutzen blieb. Ob die Hofmauer nur einen Vorhof eingrenzte oder, was wahrscheinlicher erscheint, rings um die Megara A und B geführt war, wird heute kaum mehr festzustellen sein. In letzterem Falle hätten die Herrenhäuser frei inmitten eines rings umlaufenden Hofes gestanden, wie die ganze Anlage sich auf der Kuppe inmitten des äußeren Ringwalles der Befestigung erhob.

Man hat mit der troischen Citadelle oft die Burg von Dimini in Thessalien verglichen. Der innerste der konzentrischen Ringwälle der Stadt, die eigentliche Burg, umgrenzt einen großen und offenen, nahezu rechteckigen Hof. In ihm steht als einziges größeres, alle übrigen Bauwerke der Stadt überragendes Gebäude ein Megaron mit zweisäuliger Vorhalle, Herdraum und anschließendem Gemach. Ein wesentlicher Unterschied von Troja ist jedoch, daß dieses Megaron nicht frei steht wie die troischen, sondern an die rückwärtige Schmalseite des Hofes, die es als eigene Rückwand benutzt, angeschoben ist, in die Längsachse des Hofes gelegt ist und achsial mit dem in der Mitte der vorderen Schmalseite des Hofes befindlichen Eingangstor verbunden erscheint. War in Troja, wie wir annehmen, die Hofmauer rings um die freistehenden Megara geführt, so bedeutet Dimini trotz seines möglicherweise höheren Alters einen genetisch entwickelteren Typus der Burganlage, Troja einen zurückgebliebenen oder durch fremde Einflüsse veränderten Nebensproß des gleichen Stammbaums. Befand sich jedoch in Troja vor der Front der autonomen Megara nur ein Vorhof, so müßte doch als Vorstufe von Dimini eine Burganlage mit frei verteilten Megara innerhalb eines Hofes oder Ringwalles vorausgesetzt werden. Am reinsten erscheint diese frühe Stufe erhalten in der lausitzer Burg vom Baalshebbel bei Starzeddel aus dem 6. Jahrhundert vor Chr.[2] Sie kann die ungebundene Anordnung von Burg und Gebäude veranschaulichen, die in Dimini einer gebundeneren gewichen ist.

Die dritte Stufe in der Reihe der ägäischen Burganlagen vertritt Tiryns. Das Burginnere hat sich in einen Palast verwandelt. Die drei Megara stehen wie in Troja parallel nebeneinander, strenger ausgerichtet als dort, aber in einer ähnlichen Rückstaffelung der Nebenmegara 29 und 30 hinter dem Hauptmegaron 24. Sie liegen jedoch nicht in einem gemeinsamen Hof, sondern jedes Megaron besitzt seinen besonderen Hof; zu dem Megaron 30, das den Hof 28 mit dem Megaron 29 zu teilen scheint, gehört der durch einen Korridor mit ihm verbundene Hof 31. Anders als in Dimini sind nun die Megara nicht ihren Höfen eingegliedert, sondern herausgeschoben, sodaß ihre Front an die Hofgrenze eingebunden erscheint und der Hof die

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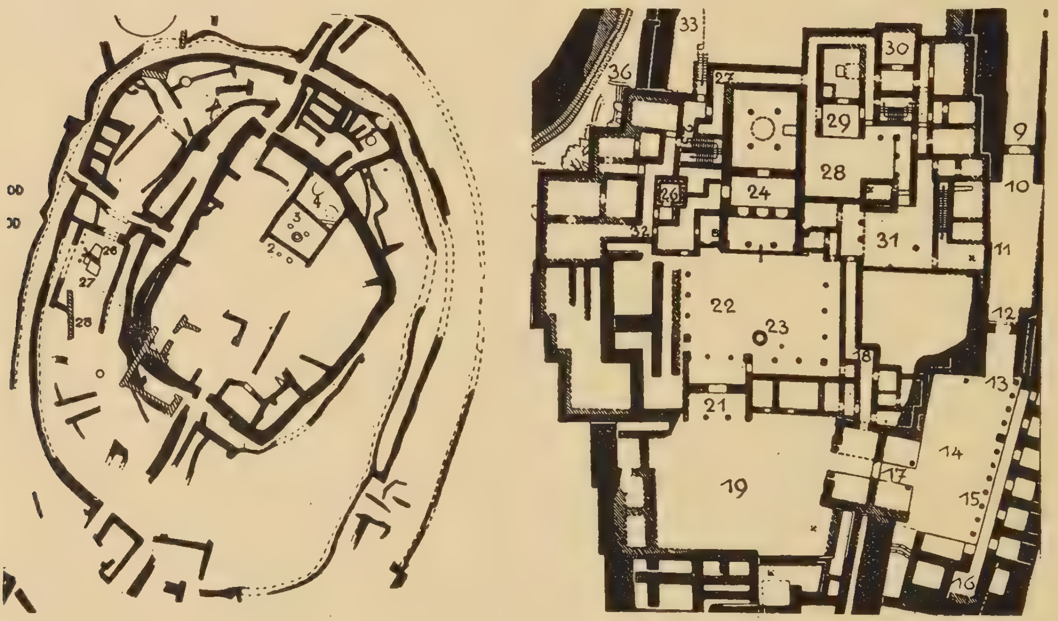
[2] C. Schuchhardt, *PZ* 1926, 188 ff., Taf. 1. Ders. *Alteuropa*³ (1935), 227, Abb. 133.

Bedeutung eines Vorhofes erhält. Dabei bleibt die achsiale Beziehung zwischen Megaron und Hof erhalten und erfährt sogar noch eine Verstärkung. Der in der Mitte der Süd–Ostseite des Hofes 22 errichtete Rundaltar 23 ist zugleich der Zielpunkt der durch Herd, Türen, Mitte der Säulenfront festgelegten Achse des Hauptmegarons.

Welche Veränderungen die Burg- und Palastanlage in der Ägäis im Verlauf ungefähr eines Jahrtausends erfahren hat, wird an der aufgestellten Reihe in den wesentlichen Umrissen deutlich. Die Megara oder das Megaron, das anfänglich frei inmitten eines umwallten Hofes gestanden ist (Troja), wird in den Hof ‘ eingegliedert ’, indem es an die Rückwand des Hofes angeschoben und auf das Achsensystem des Hofes bezogen wird (Dimini). Weiterhin verwandelt sich das Verhältnis von Hof und Megaronhaus. Das Megaron wird aus dem Hof herausgerückt und von außen ‘ angegliedert ’. Der Hof wird zum Vorhof und nach der festliegenden Achse des Megarons orientiert. Zugleich kehrt sich das Gewichtsverhältnis von Hof und Haus völlig um (Tiryns). Welches sind die historischen Faktoren, die an dieser Wendung beteiligt gewesen sind?



a *b*

Abb. 2.—(*a*) Die Burg von Dimini. (*b*) Die Palastmitte von Tiryns.

Zwischen Dimini und Tiryns fällt ein für die mykenische Baukunst entscheidendes Ereignis: der beispiellose Aufstieg der minoischen Palastarchitektur auf Kreta. Bis in die Einzelheiten der Bauornamentik zeigten sich die Mykenäer als gelehrige Schüler der Kreter. Ohne deren Vorbild hätte die festländische Baukunst nie jenen Formenreichtum, jene Großzügigkeit und Gelenkigkeit entwickeln können, die sie auszeichnen. Auf Kreta ist nun, wie die Reste subneolithischer Häuser unter dem Zentralhof von Knossos und die frühminoischen Häuser von Vasiliki zeigen,[3] das Hofhaus, dessen Mittelpunkt ein rechteckiger Hof bildet und das sich nach außen abschließt, von den ältesten Zeiten an einheimisch. Es ist eine mediterrane Wohnform, jedoch nicht auf das Mittelmeer beschränkt.

Eine breite Zone zieht sich vom westlichen Mittelmeer über die Ägäis, Ägypten einschließend, bis in die Hochländer, welche die vorderasiatischen Kulturländer nach Osten begrenzen, wo überall von der einfachen Hütte bis zum Palastbau das Hofhaus als die Grundlage der Gestaltung zu erkennen ist. Hier herrscht überall das Prinzip der ‘ Eingliederung ’ der Wohnräume und sonstigen Gemächer in den Hof und längs der Hofgrenze; am konsequentesten wurde es im vorderen Orient beibehalten. Eine genetische Analyse stößt immer wieder auf die ursprüngliche Identität von Hofgrenze und Hausgrenze. Die Gemächer werden erst auf einer Seite, dann auf zwei oder drei Seiten, endlich auf allen vier Seiten an die Hof- oder Grundstücksgrenze angelehnt, und so entsteht schließlich in der Mitte ein verkleinerter, ausgesparter Hof, auf den sich die umliegenden Räume öffnen. Jeder Versuch, das mediterran-vorderasiatische Hofhaus aus primitiven, klimatisch, wirtschaftlich und konstruktiv bedingten Vorformen abzuleiten, muß daher von der einfachsten und am frühesten nachweisbaren Gestalt ausgehen, der Form des umzäunten Hofes, an dessen Rückwand der meist in der ganzen Breite sich erstreckende Wohnraum sich anlehnt. Der im ganzen vorderen Orient dominierende Breitraum dürfte hier seine Entstehung finden. Sicher variieren die wirtschaftlichen und konstruktiven Voraussetzungen, aus denen heraus in den verschiedenen Ländern der Hofhauszone diese einfache Form hervorgegangen ist, und es wäre verkehrt, sie nur auf eine Wurzel zurückzuführen. Es darf jedoch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß bis vor kurzem die Urform des Hofhauses in offensichtlich primitiven Zuständen noch auf dem iranischen Hochland im Gebrauch gewesen ist.[4] Da ist in der Hofmauer unschwer noch die rechteckige, eingefriedete Viehhürde zu erkennen, längs deren Rückwand sich der Unterkunftsraum der Hirten hinzog.

Zu diesen Erscheinungen stellt sich die Burg von Dimini. Das Megaron ist an die Rückwand des Burghofes angeschoben; es ist an der Stelle in das Hofsystem eingegliedert, wo sich im frühen Hofhaus der Hauptraum befand, wobei es allerdings sperrig seine Längsachse beibehält und sich nicht der Breitenausdehnung der Hofseite anbequemt. Das Megaron erweist sich hier schon als ein neues Element im mediterranen Raum.

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[3] A. Evans, *PM* II i, 16 ff., fig. 8a. R. B. Seager, *Excavations at Vasiliki* 111, fig. 1. *PM* I 72, fig. 39.

[4] Haus in Elam, M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse* II (1884), 12 fig. 5. Schon dieser hat auf die Übereinstimmung mit altbabylonischen Häusern hingewiesen.

Auch in dem Kreta der subneolithischen und frühminoischen Zeit ist die Urzelle des Hofhauses—Hof mit Herd und an die Hofwände eingegliederte Gemächer—noch zu erkennen. Doch wächst das Haus hier schon über die Hofgrenze hinaus, indem an diese weitere Gemächer angegliedert werden. Die Identität von Hof- und Hausgrenze wird gesprengt. Selbst an die geschlossene Hausgrenze werden Vorratsräume und Kleinviehstallungen angeschlossen. Das Prinzip der ‘ Agglutinierung ’ eröffnet neue Möglichkeiten der Hausanlage. Die Hinausverlegung der Hausgrenze über die Hofgrenze, die Freihaltung des Hofes von eingegliederten Räumen, der Übergang zur Angliederung der Baulichkeiten an die Hofgrenze schaffen die Voraussetzung für die großen Palastanlagen, die ein rein kretisches Gewächs sind.

Sie stellen ein ins Riesige erweitertes Hofhaus dar auf der Grundlage der eben geschilderten höheren Entwicklungsstufe, die ähnlich auch in Ägypten und in Anatolien, hier aber wahrscheinlich erst unter kretischer Einwirkung, erreicht wurde. Ihre Verwurzelung in der mediterran-vorderasiatischen Hofhauszone prägt sich allein schon darin aus, daß der einzige wahrhaft monumental gestaltete Teil der kretischen Paläste der große Zentralhof geblieben ist—wenn wir einmal von den breiten Freitreppenanlagen in Phaistos absehen wollen. Wenn auch die sehr bestimmten Folgerungen, die Sir Arthur Evans aus dem Grabungsbefund für die Gestalt des Palastes von Knossos in der ersten und zweiten mittelminoischen Periode gezogen hat, sich nicht überall bewährt haben, so kann doch als sicher gelten, daß in dieser frühen Stufe Einzelgebäude oder doch sehr verschieden strukturierte Baukomplexe, die durch offene Gassen von einander getrennt waren, locker um den Hof herum angegliedert wurden. Deutlicher noch hat sich diese Frühstufe in Mallià erhalten, wo die einzelnen Palastquartiere noch mit eigenen Nebenhöfen versehen sind. Erst in den späteren Phasen wurden die trennenden Gassen zu überdeckten Korridoren, und die einzelnen Teile wuchsen zu größeren Einheiten zusammen, wobei die zweckbestimmte Strukturverschiedenheit der einzelnen Teile und die verschiedenen Stockwerk- und Dachhöhen vermutlich noch genug von dem alten Zustand verrieten. Warum in allen drei Palastanlagen Kretas der Westflügel sich hinter einer festen und durchlaufendenden Westmauer auf den Zentralhof hin öffnet, während der Ostflügel—offenbar nach den geringen Resten auch in Phaistos —sich von dem Zentralhof abwendet und nach Osten gerichtet ist, bleibt noch eine offene Frage. Die Hinwendung der Räume des Westhofes zum

Zentralhof ist zwar, wenn nicht selbstverständlich, durch die im Erdgeschoß liegenden Kulträume (besonders Knossos und Mallià) hinreichend zu erklären. Kaum aber die Orientierung des Ostflügels. In Knossos fällt wie in Phaistos das Terrain im Osten des Zentralhofes rasch ab. Man versteht es, daß sich hier, mit dem Zentralhof im Rücken, in Kellerlage und vor der Westsonne geschützt das Wohnviertel befand und der Morgensonne entgegen ohne feste Hausgrenze in den Terrassengarten überging. Aber mindestens für Mallià kann dieser Grund nicht gelten.

Ein Blick auf den Plan von Tiryns zeigt, daß für die Palastanlage auf der Kuppe des Burghügels das Vorbild der kretischen Paläste maßgebend gewesen ist. Aber der Kern der kretischen Anlagen, der Zentralhof, ist ausgebrochen. An seine Stelle sind die drei Megara mit ihren Höfen getreten. Daß sie nicht mehr in die Höfe ‘ eingegliedert ’, sondern an sie ‘ angegliedert ’ sind, entspricht wiederum kretischer Disposition. Aber der Hof hat seine bindende Kraft verloren. Zum Vorhof geworden wird er ganz durch die beherrschende Achse und Front des Megarons bestimmt. Das angegliederte Megaron, das einzellige ‘ Blockhaus ’, dominiert. So sind an die Stelle des alle Flügel des Palastes an sich bindenden Zentralhofes ganz neuartige Raumgebilde getreten. Megaron und Vorhof, sich in ihrer gegenseitigen Bezogenheit erschöpfend, können nur parallel nebeneinander angeordnet werden. Ihnen fehlt die versammelnde und disponierende Kraft des kretischen Zentralhofes. Das System des kretischen Palastes ist von innen heraus zersprengt. An seine Stelle ist das Nebeneinander und Ineinander einzelner Raumindividualitäten getreten, um die sich das Gewirr der Nutzbauten schließt, ohne daß ordnende Prinzipien außer der Bodengestalt und der praktischen Anordnung ersichtlich wären.

Die baugeschichtliche Analyse läßt einen dramatischen Vorgang erkennen: die Auseinandersetzung des Megarons mit dem auch in der Ägäis ursprünglichen Hofhaus. Das Megaron ist ein Fremdkörper in der Ägäis. Die unter einem Dach versammelte, einzellige Halle, die an drei Seiten geschlossen ist und sich nach der vierten öffnet, ist ein förmlicher Gegentypus des mediterranen Hofhauses. Das für sich stehende Megaronhaus ist autark und bedarf primär keiner Beziehung auf einen Hof. Aus Gründen der Sicherheit wird das Megaron oder werden mehrere Megara von Anfang an in einem umwallten Hof gestanden haben, ohne daß es jedoch zu einer architektonischen Klärung des Verhältnisses zwischen Haus und ringsum abgezäuntem Hof gekommen ist. Vielleicht liefert Troja II noch ein Beispiel für diese Kombination, die anderwärts wohl erhalten und im mittelmeerischen Raum nicht zuhause ist. Die erste Folge des Zusammenstoßes zwischen Megaron und mediterranem Hofhaus zeigt Dimini. Das Megaron wird dem einheimischen Hofsystem eingegliedert. Die autochthonen Kräfte scheinen den Fremdling zu assimilieren. Sie erweisen sich auf die Dauer nicht stark genug. Was sich in den folgenden Jahrhunderten bis zum Ende der mykenischen Kultur abspielte, läßt sich nur an dem Endergebnis, der Burg von Tiryns ablesen. Selbst das überwältigende Vorbild der großen kretischen Paläste vermochte nicht die Selbständigkeit des Megarons zu brechen. Es gibt kein Anzeichen dafür, daß der starke Kern eines Zentralhofes sich ein Megaron angegliedert hätte, wenigstens nicht außerhalb von Kreta.[5] Das kretische Prinzip der Angliederung an einen Hof ergreift zwar auch das Megaron. Aber dieses obsiegt; der Hof wird entmachtet, wird dem Megaron unterworfen, wird zur bloßen Erweiterung des selbstherrlichen Megarons. Ja das Megaron mit seinem Vorhof hat den Zentralhof des ägäischen Typus aus der Mitte herausgesprengt und sich selbst an seine Stelle gesetzt.

Die Aufdeckung der wechselvollen Geschichte des Megarons in der Ägäis—anfängliche Unterjochung und langsames Sichdurchkämpfen bis zum Palastkern—wurde um eines negativen Ergebnisses willen unternommen: das Megaron steht fremdartig unter den autochthonen Haus- und Palastformen des mediterranen Raumes. Dies muß davor warnen, den Ursprung des Megarons innerhalb der Hofhauszone zu suchen. Daran vermag auch das ‘ Megaron ’ von Troja I nichts zu ändern, wenn es eines ist.[6] Es bedarf dringend der Veröffentlichung. Jedenfalls schöbe es das Auftreten des Megarons am Nordostrand der Ägäis nur um wenige Jahrhunderte zurück. Die Versuche, auf Grund dieses Neufundes zu neuen positiven Ergebnissen zu gelangen und die Heimat des Megarons in dem ostägäisch-westanatolischen Kreis oder im Bereich der südosteuropäischen Bandkeramik zu suchen,[7] ermangeln noch der Überzeugungskraft. Man vergißt heute zu leicht den ausgesprochen nichtmediterranischen Charakter des Megarons als Bauform und architektonische Individualität. Andererseits hat sich die These von dem ‘ griechischen ’ Megaron und seiner Herleitung von der nördlichen Heimat der frühen Einwanderer als zu einfach erwiesen. Wenn das Megaron im Kreise der indo-europäischen Völkerfamilie seinen Ursprung gehabt haben sollte, was weder behauptet noch endgültig widerlegt werden kann, so müßte der Keim schon zu einer Zeit gelegt worden sein, zu der sich die Einzelvölker noch nicht getrennt hatten. Seine Verbreitung müßte es durch die Abwanderung der Einzelvölker gefunden haben. Dem Einen wie dem Andern stehen ernste Bedenken chronologischer Art entgegen. Es ist ratsamer, auf die heute kaum zu lösende Frage des Ursprungs und der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit zu verzichten, zumal schon die Frage, ob eine Bindung des Megarons an ethnische Einheiten angenommen werden darf, durchaus Zweifeln unterliegt.

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[5] Man wird erwägen müssen, ob nicht in Phaistos die auf den Westhof mit einer breiten Freitreppe mündende große Empfangshalle des Palastes, die von der letzten Erneuerung stammt, als ein vom Festland oder von den Inseln übernommenes, im kretischen Sinn modifiziertes Megaron anzusprechen ist.

[6] *AJA* XLI (1937), 18. Der vorsichtige Zusatz Blegens: ‘ if we may use this term ’ wird zu wenig beachtet.

[7] K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Istanbuler Mitteilungen V, 1942), 138 ff. und *AA* 1944/5, 39 f. Vgl. Fr. Matz, *Handbuch der Archäologie* II (1950), 212 f.

Das langgestreckte Megaronhaus mit dem Herd im Innern, der möglichst weit von der Türöffnung entfernt liegt, und mit der tiefen Vorhalle, die sich im ägäischen Kreis über der ganzen Front fast immer nach Süden öffnet, in der kälteren Jahreszeit die Sonne sammelnd, im Sommer Schatten gewährend, —verrät eine nördlichere Heimat als das Mittelmeer, wenn es sich auch in der Mauertechnik und dem flachen Dach den dortigen Gewohnheiten angepaßt hat. Die spätere Verbreitung des Megarons und megaronähnlicher Typen vom iranischen Hochland über Südosteuropa bis nach Zentraleuropa nördlich der Alpen erlaubt es vielleicht, auch für frühere Zeiten eine ‘ Megaronzone ’ anzunehmen, die der mediterran-vorderasiatischen Zone des Hofhauses in der gleichen Ausdehnung nördlich vorgelagert war. Dies war aber zu den in Frage kommenden Zeiten das Verbreitungsgebiet der bandkeramischen Kulturen. Im Zusammenhang mit einem Ausläufer dieser bandkeramischen Kulturen tritt das älteste Megaron des griechischen Festlandes (Dimini) auf. Von welcher Bedeutung das Megaron als Herrenhaus für die jonisch-achäische Oberschicht des mykenischen Zeitalters war, welche Rolle es von hier aus in der Grundlegung der griechischen Baukunst gespielt hat, ist bekannt. Es gehörte durch mehr als ein Jahrtausend zum Grundbestand der griechischen Architektur. Es darf daran erinnert werden,[8] daß das Megaron von Dimini im Zusammenhang mit einer Ornamentik auftritt, die wie vielfach im bandkeramischen Kreis auf der Spirale und dem Mäander basiert, der Spirale, die am Ende der mittelhelladischen und in der ersten späthelladischen Epoche zur Leitform der frühmykenischen Keramik geworden ist, des Mäanders, der in der geometrischen Keramik der Griechen dominierte. Der Mäander war damals schon mehr als ein Jahrtausend in der Ägäis bekannt und konnte auf mancherlei, heute kaum mehr auffindbaren Wegen wieder aufgelebt sein. Es verdient aber betont zu werden, daß er zum Hauptornament der geometrischen Dekoration wurde und als einziges unter allen anderen Ornamenten Bandcharakter hat. Dieser Komplex der Dimini-Kultur—Megaron, Spirale, Mäander—in allen Teilen gleich bedeutend für die spätere Entwicklung der mykenischen Kultur und der Griechen, verlangt Beachtung. Sollten die frühen Griechenstämme vor ihrer Einwanderung in Griechenland einstens durch lange Zeiträume in Nachbarschaft der Bandkeramiker oder unter Bandkeramikern gesessen haben und ihre Zivilisation durch jene nachhaltig geprägt worden sein?

BERNHARD SCHWEITZER

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[8] *Gnomon* IV (1928), 611 f. In Dimini jedoch schon griechische Elemente zu erkennen, vermag ich heute nicht mehr.

SOME MYCENAEAN ARTISTS

(PLATES 18–19)

The uniformity of Mycenaean pottery in its third phase (L.H. III) has often, and naturally, been remarked upon. It was made, we may almost say, by mass-production methods, in so far as such methods may be achieved when the only machine available to aid the potter's hand is his wheel. In the ' Potter's shop ' at Zygouries certain types repeat themselves by the score with scarcely any variation in size or shape, and with only a little in decoration;[1] from Cyprus, as the *Corpus Vasorum* will show,[2] one may see in the British Museum alone dozens of small stirrup-jars with so little to differentiate one from another that one cannot remember them individually. More than this; we can find stirrup-jars (and the same is true of other types) from Rhodes or Mycenae or even Egypt that are indistinguishable from the Cypriot ones. There is in fact plenty of evidence to justify the use of terms like uniformity, standardisation, sameness, even monotony, that are sometimes employed in speaking of L.H. III pottery.

But as Professor Wace has himself pointed out,[3] this is not all there is to say: and it is for the archaeologist to see differences as well as likenesses, and to be on the watch for local and regional features, whether of shape or decoration, or even only of frequency of particular types. And such variations do undoubtedly reveal themselves to careful study. The potters of the Mycenaean age admittedly were concerned more with technique and execution than with invention; the decoration of their work shows order and precision more often than imagination. They were, one feels, potters first, true to their skilled craft, the most mechanical industry of a machineless age, and only secondarily individuals, who might also be artists. The clarity of this fact has perhaps blinded the eyes of archaeologists to the artistic excellence or individuality of some Mycenaean potters; or perhaps it would be truer to say that what is individual in Mycenaean pottery has not merely remained unrecognised: it has not even been sought. The contention of this article is that in spite of the remarkable unity of L.H. III pottery one may yet recognise not merely the fashions or peculiarities of particular regions (which I have endeavoured in part to characterise elsewhere [4]) but even the personality of individual artists.

To demonstrate this convincingly is not easy, especially as so much has been said in the past to prejudice the question in the opposite direction; but the case may perhaps best be presented by adducing a few of what seem to me the most striking examples of a personal style in Mycenaean pot-painting.

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[1] See C. W. Blegen, *Zygouries*, 143 ff.

[2] *CVA Great Britain* I, pls. 2 and 3.

[3] *E.g.* in *Klio* XXXII 134, and elsewhere in the same article.

[4] In *BSA* XLII 1 ff., and in *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*.

The contents of the Zygouries potter's shop have already been quoted to illustrate the uniformity of Mycenaean pottery; but some of this material may in fact be cited on the other side. I refer to the series of kylikes decorated with a single linear motif placed on one side of the bowl. Blegen, in publishing the find, illustrates a number of examples (some in colour).[5] No two of the designs in this group are identical; but they show a strong similarity of character. All have the same general arrangement and relation to the pot-surface; the motif is the sole decoration of the kylix: no stripes or subsidiary features, no painting of lip or handles; and all show the same quality of line. They were all found in the same place. Why should they not all have been painted by the same hand? If they were so, these are just the kind of similarities one would find. And though these designs are typical of L.H. IIIB in their formalisation and combination in abstract design of earlier naturalistic motifs, yet we find very few Mycenaean pots from other sites that are at all closely like them. Three, allegedly from sites in Attica, I have referred to in *BSA* XLII (29 ff.; one is illustrated there, pl. 6, 11); others have been found in Kalymnos (now in the British Museum, A1008); in Aegina (*AE* 1910, pl. VI 5); and at Ialysus (Furtwängler-Löschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XI 72); a fragment is also recorded from Mycenae (*BSA* XXV, 108). In all of these the pot-shape and the style of decoration is so like the Zygouries examples that I am prepared to trust the vivid impression I have had ever since I first came across them; that one man made them, a man whom we might call the Zygouries potter. His personal touch, we should notice, is to be found not in the patterns he uses, or any detail of their drawing (often it is the ' murex ' ornament in a perfectly common form); it lies rather in how he places the ornament, and his restraint in not adding anything further. It does not follow that he never made more commonplace pots; but because he did not in them reveal his peculiar artistic personality we cannot now distinguish them.

But if we can distinguish personality, in this at present isolated instance, in pots with abstract decoration, it should be much more readily recognisable in those with figured decoration, where the greater naturalism and complexity of the design give more opportunity for personal variations in the manner of painting. A small motif may be learned by rote by the apprentice potter, even the less skilled apprentice; a figure subject involves more brush-strokes than one would wish to carry in the head; it is simpler and better (especially if your painter has any creative ability) to supply them from one's own invention; and no two persons will invent in quite the same manner, though one man may well repeat what he has once invented.

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[5] *Zygouries*, figs. 135–7 and pls. XVI–XVIII.

The obvious field in which to follow up this idea is the wide range of figured decoration which is a characteristic feature of Cypriot Mycenaean pottery. In this figured style, at least in the Myc. IIIB phase, we find less uniformity and standardisation than in most Mycenaean pottery, and more artistic imagination.[6] Here, consequently, there is a better hope of running our individual potter or painter to earth. In what follows I have brought together several small groups of Cypriot Mycenaean pottery which I believe one may with some degree of confidence attribute to individual craftsmen, or else to small groups of craftsmen, probably working together. It is not suggested that it will ever be possible to assign Mycenaean pot-paintings to their artists with the same assurance that is possible for Attic vases of the classical period; but even though the feasible groupings remain few and small, the results may still be of some use in their bearing, ultimately, on more general archaeological questions.

GROUP I

1. My first group centres on the handsome krater C402 in the British Museum (see PLATE 18, *a*). Between the handles on either side is the figure of a bull attacking (or being annoyed by) a bird. The drawing is notable for its sure, rhythmic, double-curved lines, and the fineness and care of the filling-ornaments on the body of the bull, which give an effect as of embroidery stitches. The pot was found at Klavdia near Larnaca.

2–3. The same rhythm and precision of drawing are apparent on two fine jugs (British Museum C575 and C576) from Hala Sultan Tekké, also near Larnaca (*Myc. Pottery from the Levant*, pl. XIII 9, 10). The shape of these, straight-sided, with an angular shoulder, is not typically Mycenaean; nor are the ' eyes ', marked just below the lip. But in technique the jugs are totally Mycenaean. I believe they are in fact certain examples of *Cyprus-made* Mycenaean.[7] The boldness of a departure from Mycenaean shapes by a potter working in regular Mycenaean technique is in keeping with the confident and individual style of the decoration on these jugs and on the krater just mentioned.

4. I would ascribe to the same artist a cup (British Museum C623) which again departs from Mycenaean form, this time in a definitely Cypriot direction (PLATE 18, *b*). It is virtually a Mycenaean ' milk-bowl ', complete with wish-bone handle. It is unfortunately broken, but enough remains of the design

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[6] Cf. *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, 37 f.

[7] C575 has a mark on the base (*Myc. Pott. from the Levant*, 47, no. 10) which supports this view: cf. *op. cit.* App. B.

to show marked similarity in the quality of line and in the decorative division of the bulls' bodies, and to link it with the krater (no. 1 above). The cross-hatching on the point of the handle is curiously reminiscent of that on the bull's nose on the krater; and the filling ornament in the field is closely parallel—though that could hardly be taken in evidence except in the light of the general similarity of style. This pot comes, like the krater, from Klavdia.

5. A little less confidently I give to the same painter the krater British Museum C411 (*Myc. Pottery from the Levant*, pl. IX 7) decorated with a frieze of birds. The relationship lies mainly in the embroidery-like treatment of the filling patterns on the birds; but admittedly they have not quite the same rhythm and swing as the bull. The apparent difference in the brushwork is partly due to the somewhat matt quality of the paint and its poorer preservation, and is less than the photograph perhaps suggests. This krater was found at Enkomi.

GROUP II

1. Closely related in design to the bull-protomes on the two jugs C575 and 576 (see above) is the decoration on a smaller jug of similar shape, British Museum C577, from Enkomi (PLATE 18, *c*). On this jug the bull's head faces a bird. The drawing is less sure and competent, but the similarity of the motif otherwise, and the shape of the jug, suggest the same workshop as for Group I, though another craftsman.

2. By this same craftsman, I suggest, is an unusual stirrup-jar from Klavdia, British Museum C514 (PLATE 18, *d*). It shows on either side a feature so unusual on a stirrup-jar as to seem almost eccentric: a pair of bull's heads prominently placed between the stripes. They show a detailed similarity to those on the jug C577. This stirrup-jar, like the jug C575 in Group I, has a pot-mark on the base, which supports, though it does not prove, the attribution of the pot to a workshop in Cyprus (*cf.* footnote 7 above).

GROUP III

1. The British Museum krater C421, from Klavdia, is decorated (see PLATE 18, *e*) like no. 1 of our first group, with a figure of a bull, but in a vastly different style. That is characterised by firmness and precision; this by a hasty hit-or-miss manner of drawing. That the result has individuality may not at first be obvious, but it becomes more so as one recognises similar bulls on two other kraters.

2. One of these was found at Byblos in Syria (*Myc. Pottery from the Levant*,

pl. XVII 1). The similarity of the shape of pot cannot be adequately checked, as the lower half of the Byblos krater is lost. But the design shows various points of near resemblance: the long body of the bull—it looks as though it would break in the middle, despite the thick brush-line along the back; the haphazard lines and blotches that fill the body; the snout; and the way of drawing the hooves.

3. The other (FIG. 1) is in the Louvre (Inv. AM 679) and comes from Aradippo, another site near Larnaca. I have not seen the pot itself, and my tentative attribution of it to this group depends on the drawing in *BCH* XXXI 230, fig. 6, on which the sketch here is based.

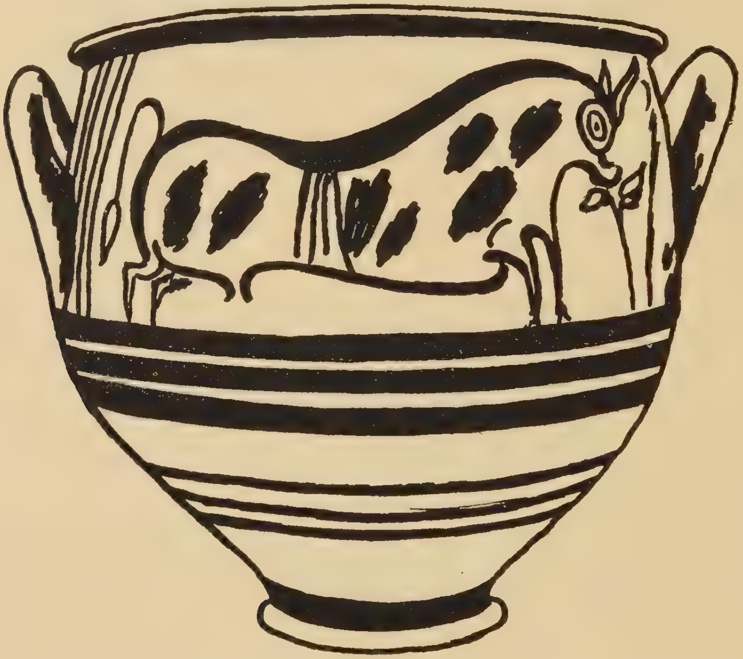

FIG. 1.—KRATER FROM ARADIPPO (Louvre, Inv. *AM* 679).

The British Museum krater C417 may also belong here, though less certainly; for although the bull depicted on it bears a general resemblance to those just listed, the hooves are drawn in a notably different manner (see the illustration in *Myc. Pott. in the Levant*, pl. IX 4) which is repeated for the sphinxes on the other side (see *CVA Great Britain* I pl. 10, 1). Somewhere between this pot and C421, perhaps, comes a fragment from another krater, C425 (*BMC Vases* I, ii, fig. 153). It is more carefully decorated than either C417 or C421, but the hooves link it with C417.

GROUP IV

1–3. This group comprises three kraters in the British Museum, C418, C419, C420 (PLATE 19, *a*, *b*, *c*), all from Enkomi. The style is rough, even negligent. Personality, it may be felt, is hardly evident here, unless it be a negative personality. But in spite of the carelessness of it, the style is consistent; and the three pots are further linked by a close similarity of shape (though the deformation of C420 in firing obscures this point), and by the quality of clay and paint, which are rough and dull of surface.

We might on these technical grounds also place here two other kraters, C423 and C424; but their decoration gives us little to go on.

Note. Practically all the pots in these last two groups are included by Furumark (*Mycenaean Pottery*, 465 ff.) in what he calls the 'Rude Style', describing this as a 'derivative Mycenaean ware'. That this 'Rude Style' forms a genuine stylistic grouping I concede, though as I have shown I feel it can be subdivided; but I do not agree that it can be separated clearly from 'genuine' Mycenaean or Levanto-Mycenaean. My Group IV are, as stated, rougher in technique; but as all degrees occur between this roughness and the most polished quality of Mycenaean any separation seems arbitrary. Furumark's identification of an oriental influence in the subjects decorating 'Rude Style' pots I believe incontrovertible; but this influence is by no means confined to this division of Cypriot Mycenaean.

GROUP V

1. A small jug in the British Museum, C583, from Enkomi, though of normal shape is unusual in having the shoulder decorated with figures of birds (PLATE 19, *d*)—unusual, that is, by comparison with Mycenaean jugs from Greece. The fashion is better known in Cyprus, and we have in fact already examined several examples of it.

2. Birds of strikingly similar form—notice the curve of the leg, and the two 'toes' to each, as well as the filling of the body, the general outline, and the backward-looking head—occur on an open krater from the same site, British Museum C409 (PLATE 19, *e*), and I think they are by the same hand. On this pot they are subordinate to the main design, which consists of a frieze of deer, each a close repetition of its neighbour. The birds are equally repetitive; and this strong regularity, both of detail and arrangement, is the chief characteristic of the whole design.

3. The same regularity of composition leads me to group here a krater in the Cyprus Museum (A1546), from Salamis (PLATE 19, *f*). On this, instead of the birds below the deer, there are rosettes above. There is a little more variety in the filling of the deer, and the little loops along the antlers balance the loops along part of the body-outlines, thus helping the formal unity of the whole.

Since grouping these three pots together, on grounds of style, I have noticed that the jug, no. 1, and the krater, no. 3, have on their bases very similar ' pot-marks '.[8] Indeed, the sign is perhaps intended to be the same on each; if so, is it the potter's (or painter's) signature? To conclude that it is would at present be rash, and would carry with it the ascription to the same artist of several other pots: *e.g.*, in my list of marked pots in *Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant* nos. 1 and 4 on p. 46, and nos. 1 and 2 on p. 48. Of these I am prepared to believe that the former two are both by one artist, but I cannot at present see any stylistic evidence to identify him with the man who painted the deer and birds under discussion above.

GROUP VI

1. Among the pottery found by the Swedish excavators at Enkomi was a krater[9] with a design of a lion surprising two wild goats or other small deer (FIG. 2). The subject is unusual, and remarkably lively in execution.

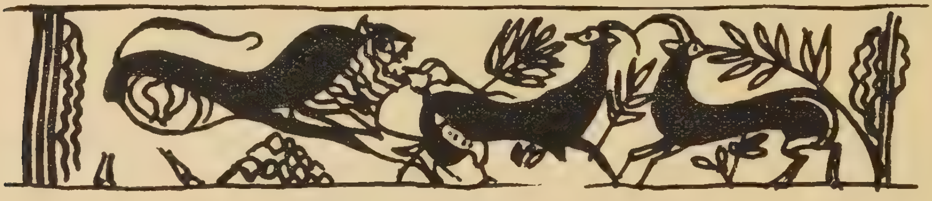

FIG. 2.—DESIGN ON A KRATER FROM ENKOMI.
(Swedish excavations; Tomb 18, side chamber, no. 50.)

2. A similar scene occurs on a krater of the same shape in the Louvre (AM 675), from Aradippo. It is hard to judge from drawings alone (*BCH* XXXI 234 figs. 13–15), but the lion, a rare beast in the Mycenaean potter's repertoire, goes some way to suggest the same workshop as for the Enkomi hunting scene just mentioned. The goats tugging at a tree or bush are a comparatively common theme on Cypriot Mycenaean kraters. They occur, for example, on fragments of a necked krater (C389) in the British Museum (PLATE 18, *f*), and in that instance bear at least a general resemblance to the examples just quoted. On the other hand the thick line along their backs, and the use of the roughly drawn spirals as fillers in the side of the field, would link them rather with our Group III.

[8] *Myc. Pott. in the Levant* 46, nos. 2 and 5.

[9] Tomb 18, side-chamber, no. 50. Illustrated in *SCE* I, pl. CXVIII 7; the design in Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, fig. 21, 4.

GROUP VII

1. Equally striking among the Swedish finds at Enkomi was a krater [10] painted with a scene from naval life (FIG. 3). Here, surely, is the product of an artist whose work one ought to recognise on seeing it again in another place. The subject is unique; the style, with its characteristic use of dots edging the main lines of the drawing, is distinctive. So far, however, I have not observed another major work by this man.

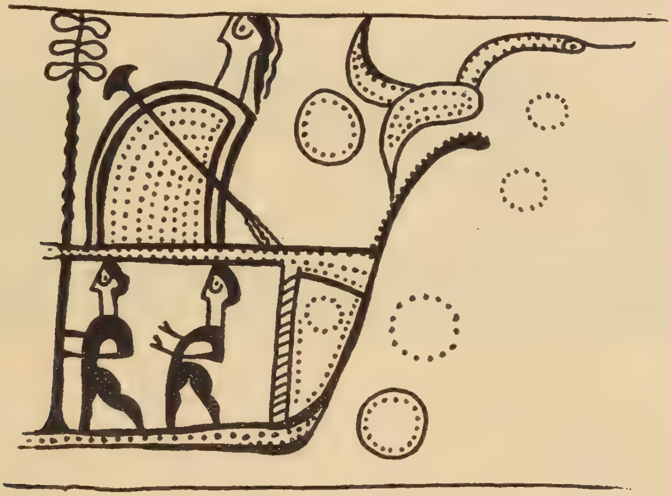

FIG. 3.—PART OF DESIGN ON A KRATER FROM ENKOMI.
(Swedish excavations; Tomb 3, no. 262.)

2. Nevertheless, a three-handled jar in the British Museum, C434, from Hala Sultan Tekké, seems to betray his hand in the shoulder decoration, which consists of a pair of birds (FIG. 4): at least they seem most like birds, though their stylised forms have some affinity with plant-motifs—rather in the way that the motifs of the Zygouries potter are reminiscent at once of palms and octopods. These birds, then, odd as they are, have their exact counterpart perching on the prow (? stern) of the ship on the Enkomi krater just referred to. It is almost impossible not to believe they are by the same painter.

One is apt to think, on observing superficially the fusion of plant and animal motifs in Myc. IIIB pottery, that this is the mere degeneration of

[10] From tomb 3, no. 262. Illustrated in *SCE* I, pl. CXXI 3–4; the design in Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, fig. 20, 3.

art, when the decorator does not realise what it is he is drawing; and that might be our first impression about the bird-plants on the jar C434. It is not so easy, or so reasonable, to think that way if one considers it in the light of the painter's other work. After seeing his almost satirical portrayal of the upper and lower deck we begin to know our man; as we look again at his plant-birds we can detect the streak of whimsy, and if we have any taste for such things we have achieved the supreme aim of archaeology as we share an instant of the Late Bronze Age.

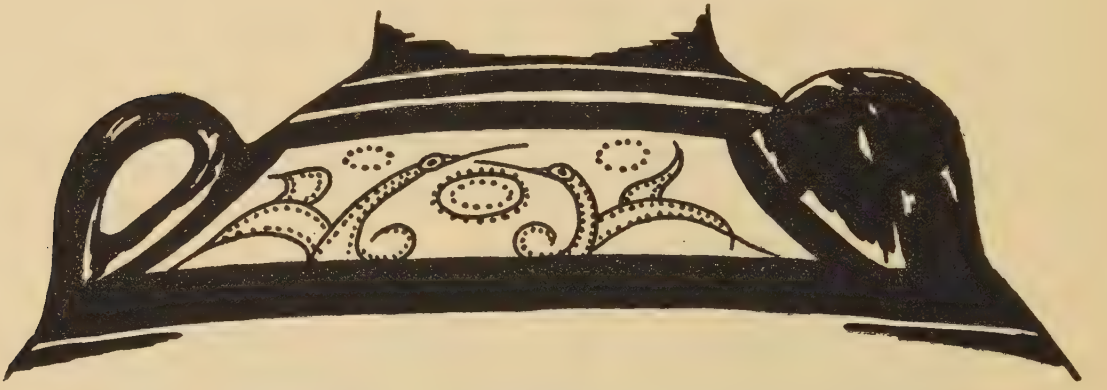

Fig. 4.—Design on a Jar from Hala Sultan Tekké (B.M.C434).

Those who have no taste for such things, and who emphasise the scientific rather than the human side of Archaeology, will perhaps be prepared at least to admit the validity of some of the groupings made above. If so, it may be hoped that others too will be willing to look for the individual personality in Mycenaean pottery. So far it seems easier to find in Cyprus than in Greece; in the overseas Mycenaean settlements, we may suppose, life was less *borné*, because less strictly organised, and subject to non-Mycenaean influences; wider artistic experience and the will and freedom to express it went together. The matter is surely very relevant for anyone who still doubts that much of the Mycenaean IIIB pottery found in Cyprus was locally made.

F. H. Stubbings

POST-BYZANTINE FIGURED SILKS

(PLATES 20–22)

At one time it was generally assumed, even by distinguished Byzantinists, that the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 put a sudden stop to the production of all objects of quality in the East Christian world, and that after that date Byzantine art at once degenerated into a peasant art throughout the whole of the area touched by the Turks. Recent research has, however, led to some modification of this view, and though work of the same superb quality as that produced in the great middle period of Byzantine art was not executed, we now know that in addition to painted icons, such things as embroideries, carved reliquaries, crosses of chased metal work or champlevé enamel and objects in bone or even ivory, were produced, which were by no means negligible from the artistic standpoint. Their production continued, moreover, through the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries; only after that date did Christian art in Greece and the Balkans assume an essentially ' peasant ' character. It is indeed to the sixteenth century that the greater number of painted icons that are now to be found in museums and private collections in Greece are to be assigned, and though there was much hack-work, paintings of very high quality were also produced amongst them.

In spite of the recent growth of interest in this post-Byzantine age, there is one art of quite considerable importance which has hitherto received but little attention, namely that of fine textile weaving. A few examples exist in public museums; there are a few more in private collections, and it is possible that more are still to be found in churches in the Balkans, or perhaps even in those of Italy. Only a very few of these have so far been published,[1] and it is hoped that the additional examples that are illustrated or mentioned in the following pages may prove of interest to students of later Byzantine culture as well as to those of textile weaving.

The simplest of these stuffs are woven in two colours only, and bear designs composed of repeated medallions with the bust of Christ or the Virgin in them, or perhaps with a more formal device such as a cross or stylised inscription. More elaborate stuffs, where the pattern is on a larger scale, and where three or four colours are used, were also made, but these are less common, for not only must they have been rarer in their own day, but in addition the increase in the size of the pattern automatically made them more perishable, for in these stuffs the threads of the weft oversail large areas of the warp in order to produce the desired pattern, and are only very feebly bound in; they thus tend to break away and perish, so that not only the design, but also the actual textile, is seriously damaged by anything but the most careful and sparing usage. This process of breaking away is clearly visible on the arms of the crosses of the textile shown in PLATE 20; it would be even more marked were the pattern on a larger scale.

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[1] See R. M. Riefstahl, ' Greek Orthodox vestments and ecclesiastical fabrics ', in *Art Bulletin* XIV (1932), 359 ff. A number in the Byzantine Museum at Athens are mentioned in the guide but are not illustrated: see G. Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes*, 1939, 139.

The textile is preserved in the church of St. George of the Greeks at Venice. The decoration is in silver on a red ground; the border is in gold, but it is a later addition, and of a different character. The pattern consists of simple crosses, with the letters ĨC X̃C ÑI K̃A disposed around the arms; the crosses are separated one from the other by four tulips, arranged in the form of a cruciform pattern. It is worth noting, in passing, that abbreviation lines have been added above the letters ÑI and K̃A, although the word is written in full. These lines should actually be used only when the letters shown are the salient ones of the word, as is the case with the others, ĨC and X̃C. The form of tulip on this textile is that found on Turkish pottery and textiles of the sixteenth century. A stuff which bears an identical decoration and which is preserved in the Nea Moni on the Island of Chios, however, is dated to 1742.[1a] But technically the weave would appear to be rather looser, and for that reason the Venice stuff is probably rather earlier. The church of St. George of the Greeks was erected in 1538, and was endowed with icons from the middle of that century onwards. The textile was probably also an endowment, and a date in the seventeenth century would seem more likely than one in the eighteenth.

Another silk of this group with a similar type of pattern is in the author's possession (PLATE 21, *c*). It bears a more ornate type of cross, but the same letters are included beside the arms. The crosses are in looped interlacings, and in the spaces between the loops are four winged seraphim. The ground is blue, and the crosses, interlacings, and seraphim are gold, outlined in red. The textile is presumably to be assigned to much the same or slightly later date than the previous example. A stuff bearing a similar pattern, but of slightly coarser weave, which is in the Benaki Museum at Athens (no. 852), is probably rather later, for the weave is freer and the composition rather more loose. It may even be seventeenth rather than sixteenth century. The Museum authorities assign it to Chios, which, according to material preserved in the Serail at Istanbul, was a very important centre of weaving from the sixteenth century onwards.

[1a] G. Sotiriou, *ADelt* II (1916), παραρτῆμα, 40 and fig. 30.

A second group of these stuffs can be distinguished by the presence of figural motives, sometimes in two and sometimes in three or four colours. One, in the author's possession, shows the bust of Christ in the Orans position, enclosed in a circle; between the circles are the usual letters I͠C X͠C Ñ K̃ (PLATE 21, *a*). Here the faces, hands, and details of the costume are in creamy white, the ground is gold, and the hair dark blue. This blue is made up of the warp threads only. The gold is well woven into it, and remains firm, but the creamy-white is only loosely bound down and has disappeared from most of the faces either completely or in part. Except for this technical defect, which is to be observed to greater or lesser degree in all these stuffs, the work is delicate and fine, and the textile is certainly to be assigned to some very accomplished workshop. It is probably to be dated to the early sixteenth century. A rather similar stuff in the Benaki Museum (no. 828) has the border and certain details of the design in red, and is also probably to be dated to the sixteenth century. A second material in the same museum (no. 843) is rather coarser, and may perhaps belong to the next century. A fourth example of the same type is preserved in the treasury of Putna in Roumania. It is attached to a stuff dated 1614, but is probably earlier, though it is certainly not ' Byzantine ' in the sense suggested by Tafrali, that is to say, that it dates from before 1453.[2] But perhaps the finest example of the group is a stuff in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 885–1899; PLATE 21, *b*). Its design is similar, but the weave is more elaborate and the brilliant red ground is especially striking. It is again probably to be dated to the sixteenth rather than to the seventeenth century.

A third group of these textiles is distinguished by figures which are rather less stylised, and the presence of a number of colours in the weave helps to intensify the liveliness of the designs. The motives vary. On a stuff in the Benaki Museum (no. 836) the Virgin is shown full length with the Child before her, and angels, crosses, and Turkish tulips are included between the larger figures. Beside the Virgin is an inscription in Armenian characters. Similar tulips and Armenian characters frequently appear on a well-known group of plates which also have floral motives and human figures as a part of their decoration; they were made mostly at Kuthayah in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Benaki textile is probably to be assigned to the earlier rather than the later century, on the grounds of the excellence of its design. In the seventeenth century the work tended to become coarser and less finely finished.

Another textile of similar technique in the Benaki Museum (no. 832) bears Christ enthroned, and between each repeat of this motive is a tall, double-armed cross; the usual inscription, I͠C X͠C N͠I K͠A, is included. This stuff is among the finest of the examples of this group that are known. It is almost certainly to be assigned to the sixteenth century. Akin to it is another material, of which the author possesses a fragment; a large piece was on the market in Istanbul before the war (PLATE 22). In addition to the design of the enthroned Christ it bears an inscription in Georgian characters reversed, beside Christ's head. This would seem to have been executed by someone who was not conversant with the language, for the characters make no sense.[3] The colours of the textile are brilliant and effective, the ground and the shading on the costume being red, the cross, halo, and Christ's himation gold, and Christ's chiton, which is visible on the right arm and the right side of the chest, pale green. The Bible, face, hands, and details of the cherubim that appear from behind Christ's throne are creamy white.

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[2] O. Tafrali, *Le Trésor de Putna* (Paris, 1925), 69 and Pl. LX.

The date of these stuffs is in a few cases supported by external evidence, as in the case of those at Putna and in the Nea Moni at Chios. But an important factor for dating in the light of our present knowledge is also afforded by comparison with Turkish materials of the type usually grouped under the heading 'Broussa stuffs'. Such evidence as there is suggests that the production of the really fine Broussa stuffs ceased round about 1700, and the same would seem to be true of those bearing Christian motives. But when they were first executed is a more difficult question to answer; all that can be said is that silks were already being produced for the Turks before the fall of Constantinople in 1453,[4] and the designs of the Christian ones are in general so Byzantine in character that it is tempting to suggest that work of the same type was also produced before the fall of Constantinople, even if nothing that survives can be assigned to that period. Actual stuffs or perhaps sketches of actual Byzantine works must have been available to the later weavers, and they must have made use of these, at the same time bringing their designs up to date by including tulips and other features belonging to the normal repertory of the stuffs done for the Turkish market.

It is also hard to say exactly where the materials were made, for there is little direct evidence. All that is sure is that the old idea that all stuffs of 'Broussa' type were made at the place of that name is no longer to be accepted. Scutari, on the Asiatic shore opposite Constantinople, Broussa itself, or Bursa as it is now called, the island of Chios, and perhaps one or more localities on the Greek mainland were all centres of manufacture, and evidence has recently come to light which indicates that the finest work was probably done at Broussa and Scutari, while that of Greece and Chios was rather coarser, in any case with regard to the technique. The evidence is, however, still unpublished; I am indebted to the late Theodore Macridy, formerly curator of the Benaki Museum at Athens, for communicating it to me; it was in the main accumulated by him during his study of the superb collections of the Serail at Istanbul.[5]

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[3] I am indebted to Professor Sir E. H. Minns of Cambridge for this information.

[4] See Taksin Öz, *Turkish Textiles and Velvets*, Turkish Press, Broadcasting, and Tourist Department, Ankara, 1950, Pls. I–V.

On the basis of comparison with the Turkish materials, a few of those bearing Christian designs may perhaps be assigned to one or other of these places. Thus one in the Rhode Island School of Design, which was published by Reifstahl,[6] can, on the basis of the nature of its gold thread, be associated with Broussa, while the rather loose weave of such a textile as that illustrated here in PLATE 22 is akin to what was being done for the Turkish market at Chios. But further than that it is as yet impossible to go. It may, however, be suggested that the stuffs with Christian motives would probably have been made only in places where Greek workmen were available. In spite of the presence of Georgian characters on one example, there is no reason to believe that these stuffs were ever made in the Caucasus. Some may, however, have been the work of Armenians, for it is known that Armenian potters played a prominent part in the production of the Turkish wares of Isnic and elsewhere.

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[5] The Serail collection comprises an amazingly rich array of silks, some of which are still in the rolls in which they were originally delivered from the factories. In some cases the receipts of manufacture have also been preserved. Theodore Macridy and Taksin Öz, Director of the Serail, were preparing a publication of this material before the war, but Macridy's death and present-day difficulties for long postponed its appearance. The first volume of a three-volume publication, by Taksin Öz alone, has now been issued—see previous note. It deals with the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[6] *Loc. cit.* Both are illustrated.

LAUDATORY EPITHETS IN GREEK EPITAPHS

Alan Wace and I spent three memorable years together, wellnigh half a century ago, in the British School at Athens, of which he was later to be for nine years the Director. The first book which either of us published was the *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, in the writing of which we collaborated, and I have followed with keen interest his subsequent career as scholar, administrator and teacher. I therefore regard it as a privilege to make a contribution however slight to the volume of the *British School Annual* which will serve as a tangible expression of his friends' admiration of his past achievements and their heartfelt wishes for his future happiness.

Of the various classes into which Greek inscriptions fall incomparably the largest numerically is that of epitaphs. To illustrate this preponderance we need only turn to the recently completed *editio minor* of *IG* II and III, the monumental work of Johannes Kirchner, which comprises all save Christian inscriptions from Attica later than 403 B.C.; these, with the exception of epitaphs, are numbered 1 to 5219, while the epitaphs continue the numeration from 5220 to 13228. Of this class a considerable number are metrical, ranging from poetical compositions of the highest order to the merest doggerel, and interesting not only as minor works of Greek literature, but also as throwing a valuable light upon the Greek conceptions, at various periods and in many different parts of the Greek world, of life and death, of happiness and sorrow, of human virtue and divine nature, of fate and chance. These naturally invite and reward careful study, and we cannot but welcome the first instalment [1] of a new collection of Greek epigrams inscribed, or intended for inscription, upon stone, replacing the admirable, but now largely antiquated, work of G. Kaibel,[2] published seventy years previously; nor must we overlook the fascinating volume in which R. Lattimore [3] examines Greek and Latin epitaphs from the standpoint not of form but of content.

But prose epitaphs have received comparatively little notice [4] and are usually passed over as dull and unprofitable, brief and unadorned records, for the most part rigidly formal in expression, of the deaths of men, women and children unknown to history. True, the names they contain may occasionally possess linguistic or other interest, their ethnics may have some geographical value, their claims of ownership or threats of penalties for tomb-violation may draw the attention of jurists, and the not infrequent indications of the age of the dead may afford materials for biometrical study;[5] but in general these documents are regarded as uninspiring and are accordingly neglected. My object in the present note is briefly to suggest a line of inquiry which might well repay the time and labour demanded, that into the laudatory epithets found in a very large number of these inscriptions, which may serve to indicate the virtues most practised, or most highly prized, among the Greeks, in the hope that someone else may follow it up further and treat it more adequately than I can attempt to do.[6] In the remarks which follow I confine myself to prose epitaphs, and more especially to those of the so-called ‘ Attic ’ type, in which attention is drawn primarily, and usually exclusively, to the deceased, whose name may be accompanied by patronymic, demotic, or ethnic, and other particulars, such as age or profession, often accompanied by a greeting, normally χαῖρε, less frequently θάρσει, εὐψύχει, or the like. From my survey I exclude Christian epitaphs, since the conception of virtues there expressed may be due, at least in part, to Christian rather than to purely Hellenic feeling and tradition.

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[1] P. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse*, I. *From the Beginnings to the Persian Wars*, Berkeley, 1948.

[2] *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin, 1878.

[3] *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana (Illinois), 1942. Unfortunately the work has no index and no table of inscriptions quoted.

[4] Useful bibliographies of books and articles dealing with Greek epitaphs are found in J. J. E. Hondius, *Saxa loquuntur*, 127 f., and R. Lattimore, *op. cit.* 13, 343 ff.

This is not, we must frankly admit, our sole evidence for the Greek attitude in the field of morals. We possess the writings, steeped in moral reflexions, of epic, lyric, and dramatic poets, of historians describing and judging moral factors in public life, of biographers portraying the characters as well as recounting the deeds of their subjects, of philosophers engaged in ethical speculation. Further, from the multitude of extant honorary decrees and similar inscriptions we can estimate what qualities as well as what services evoked the admiration and the gratitude of the ancient communities, while the surviving *decreta consolatoria*[7] present us with vivid, perhaps somewhat idealized, portraits of those whose premature deaths called out these expressions of sympathy with their surviving relations.[8] Yet the writings in question are, with few exceptions, the work of authors of outstanding genius and strongly marked individuality, while the relevant decrees are all public documents, and we are left wondering what the ordinary folk felt and thought, if indeed they thought at all, about moral values. And it is precisely in introducing us to ‘ the common man ’, his thoughts, speech and actions, that inscriptions make one of their most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the ancient world.

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[5] See, *e.g.*, B. E. Richardson, *Old Age among the Ancient Greeks* (Baltimore, 1933), 231 ff., 277 ff., M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XX 139 ff.

[6] It must be borne in mind that the references given in the present article are, save where the context indicates otherwise, only illustrative and make no pretension to completeness.

[7] E.g. *IG* IV^2 83–4, 86, V (2) 517, XII (7) 33, 53–4, 239–40, 393–7, 399–401, 405, 408–10 XIV 758, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, III 10 ff.; *cf.* K. Buresch, *RhMus* XLIX 424 ff.

[8] In passing I note the epithets χρηστός, φιλόξενος, and γαῦρος (here unquestionably laudatory), added to the names of certain ephebi at Eretria and Tanagra (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, I 127 ff., II 139 ff.), and the word ἀγαθός occasionally attached to the names of Spartan officials (A. M. Woodward, *BSA* XLIII 225).

But, it may well be asked, what is the value of the evidence so obtained? We recall Archilochus' appeal (65 Diehl^2) to good feeling and gentlemanly behaviour, οὐ γὰρ ἐσθλὰ κατθανοῦσι κερτομεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, the approbation given to Solon's legislative ban on defamation of the dead,[9] and the familiar *de mortuis nil nisi bonum.* The story of the child who, after passing through a cemetery and reading the legends engraved on the tombstones, turned to his parent with the question 'Where are all the bad people buried?' may lack historical foundation, but is not devoid of significance. Moreover, the language of the epitaph is determined not by the judgement of some unbiased authority, but by those most closely related to the deceased. Can we in these circumstances accept the verdict as unprejudiced and reliable? In this objection there is truth, but not the whole truth. For tombstones were set up in public places for all members of the community to see and read, and the survivor who made a blatantly false or exaggerated claim on behalf of the dead would bring ridicule upon himself without in any way benefiting the reputation of the person commemorated. Furthermore, there was no need to add any word of praise in epitaphs, and especially those in prose. Of Attic prose epitaphs of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. four at most have such additions (*IG* I^2 1032 ἀνὴρ ἀγαθό[ς], 1057 γυνὴ ἀγαθή, 1059 γυνὴ ἀρίστη, 1058 σώφρων γ', ὦ θύγατερ, but this last may be intended as verse), among the private epitaphs of Athenian citizens and ἰσοτελεῖς of the fourth and later centuries included in *IG* II^2 5228–7881 only two prose examples have laudatory epithets (5913 χρηστή, 6153 (*cf.* 10932) παράδοξος, of which the latter probably refers to athletic distinction rather than to moral excellence), and in other areas also—the Peloponnese, Boeotia, the Cyclades and Sporades (except Anaphe)—such additions are unusual and their absence would evoke no comment. There is, then, no need for excessive scepticism or cynicism in dealing with these epithets, and even while we admit, as we must, our inability to substantiate the claims thus put forward on countless Greek gravestones, we can at least see in them indications of the qualities which were admired and gladly remembered, and would therefore tend to be attributed to those who had passed from sight.

Here, as in many other respects, the Greek-speaking world was not wholly homogeneous, and local usages are occasionally discernible. Thus, the epithet προσφιλής is characteristic of, and practically confined to, Thasos[10]; ἀσύγκριτος, again, occurs specially often, though not exclusively,[11] at Rome, perhaps as a conscious translation of the Latin *incomparabilis*; καταθύμιος, used in two epitaphs of S. Paolo on the Tiber (*MA* XXXIX 142 f. nos. 2, 4), I have not met elsewhere; the combination χρηστὸς καὶ ἄμεμπτος is remarkably popular at Syracuse, χρηστὸς καὶ ἄλυπος at Sidon and Rhenea, and so on. Nor can we fail to be struck by a marked difference between Hellas and the Aegean islands on the one hand and Egypt and Rome on the other. In the former area, where the Hellenic race was least affected by foreign intermixture, and to a lesser degree in Asia Minor (though there epitaphs are predominantly of a different type), Macedonia, Syria and Sicily, epithets are very sparingly used, only one is added, with rare exceptions,[12] in each epitaph, superlatives are avoided,[13] and the epithet is selected from a narrowly limited group, in which χρηστός enjoys an overwhelming predominance. The Megalopolitan epitaph (*IG* V (2) 491) Φιλεῖνε ἀγαθὲ χαῖρε, φιλόφιλε καὶ φιλάνθρωπε, πᾶσιν ποθητέ, μηδένα λυπήσας, εὐβίωτε, ξένων καὶ ἐντοπίων ἀφθόνως ζήσας, with its attempted portrayal of the ideal character, forms a glaring contrast to the prevalent restraint and verbal parsimony. In Egypt and Italy, on the other hand, especially in the Imperial period, such restraint tends to vanish; superlatives become common, exaggerated terms are frequent,[14] and virtues are accumulated,[15] as in *SEG* II 521 (Rome) μητρὶ ἀγαπητῇ, φιλοθέῳ καὶ φιλοχήρᾳ καὶ φιλάνδρῳ καὶ φιλοτέκνῳ, or *Sammelbuch*, 411 (Egypt) φιλότεκνε, φιλογύναιε, φιλόφιλε, εὐφρόσυνε, ἄλυπε, χρηστὲ χαῖρε, or *ib.* 6651 (= *SEG* I 574) χρηστή, πασίφιλε καὶ ἄλυπε καὶ φιλογίτων. It would be interesting to inquire how far this difference was due to the impact of external influences—Oriental, Egyptian, Jewish, Roman—on the mind and speech of the Hellenes.

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[9] Plutarch, *Solon*, 21 ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων νόμος τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν.

[10] The Thasian epitaphs are collected in *IG* XII (8) 395–630, XII Suppl. 452–513. An epitaph of Aezani (*SEG* VI 134) contains the phrase ὑφ᾽ προσφιλεστάτῳ. For the meaning of the word see below.

[11] In *JHS* LXVII 111 I restore Λουκί[ῳ ἀ]συνκρίτῳ for Λουκί[α] Συνκρίτῳ in an epitaph of Thessalonica.

I have remarked above on the overwhelming majority of cases in which the epithet, or one of the epithets, selected is χρηστός, usually translated ‘ good ’, and we must ask why it was so much more popular for this purpose than ἀγαθός. Not that ἀγαθός is wholly absent. We have seen that in fifth-century Attic prose epitaphs ἀγαθός occurs twice and ἄριστος once; later it recurs twice in Attica (*IG* II^2 11420, 12583), in Laconia (*IG* V (1) 762), Arcadia (*IG* V (2) 221, 235, 258, 491), Boeotia (*IG* VII 1704, 2130, 2315), and elsewhere, notably, in conjunction with ἥρως, in Sicily (*IG* XIV 223, 225,

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[12] E.g. *IG* II^2 12034 χρηστὸς καὶ δίκαιος, 12749 χρηστὴ δικαία, V (2) 492 φιλανδροτάτη καὶ σεμνοτάτη, VII 3050 καλὲ χρηστέ, IX (2) 849 ἥρως χρηστὲ καὶ [κα]λὴ ψυχή. Far more rarely we find three epithets, as in Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge* 600, *SEG* VI 565 (Pisidia).

[13] Except in the case of γλυκύς which is almost invariably found in the superlative; ἄριστος is occasionally used, and we have also σεμνοτάτη, either alone (*IG* V (2) 218, Demitsas, Μακεδονία, 744) or accompanied by another superlative (see note 12), [προσφι]λεστάτη (*IG* XII (8) 603), etc.

[14] *E.g.* ἀσύγκριτος, ἀμ(ε)ίμητος, ἀναμάρτητος, τὴν μόνην σώφρονα καὶ φίλανδρον (references in *IG* XIV, p. 767). Πανάρετος (*IG* V (1) 1490, XIV 2098, *Sammelbuch*, 330–1) contrasts with the more modest ἐνάρετος of *IG* VII 2671. I quote here the unique opening of an epitaph o Patara (*TAM* II 443) Κλ. Ἀρεσκούσης ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος, φιλανδρία ἀσύνκριτος, φιλοτεκνία ἀνυπέρβλητος, κάλλος ἀμείμητον, σωφροσύνη ἀδιήγητος.

[15] See Lattimore, *op. cit.* 290 ff. Examples are Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre : les textes inédits,* 174 φιλάδελφε, φιλότε[κ]νε, φιλόφιλε, ἄλυπε, χρηστὲ χαῖρε, *SEG* IV 133, VI 565, *Sammelbuch*, 330 f., 343, 1990.

229–31, *SEG* IV 40–3). Ἄριστος (*IG* II^2 12300, Paton-Hicks, *Cos*, 279) and ἀγαθώτατος (*IG* XIV 1782, 1939) are also found, But over against these sporadic examples of ἀγαθός we must set the hundreds of epitaphs from all parts of the Greek world, in which χρηστός is preferred; I know of only one case in which the two words stand side by side.[16] If a distinction must be sought, I suggest that ἀγαθός may represent an 'abstract' virtue of the human soul, while χρηστός may denote goodness in action, goodness which finds an outlet in the service of those in the home or the community, helpfulness.[17] This consideration may help to explain the comparative frequence of the phrase καλὴ ψυχή (see below) or ἀγαθὴ ψυχή (*IG* XIV 1365, 1518, 1543), whereas χρηστὴ ψυχή occurs, to the best of my knowledge, only in *IG* XIV 1714.[18] The vogue of χρηστός did, however, present a problem to the epigrammatist. While the names of many virtues—ἀρετή, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φιλοξενία, etc.—meet the exigencies of elegiac verse, χρηστότης wholly fails to do so, and the difficulty was overcome only by the creation of a word, unknown in prose, χρηστοσύνη (*IG* II^2 11375, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII 155 n. 1).

But if χρηστός thus wins a runaway victory in the race for popularity, the runner-up, *longo sed proximus intervallo*, is no less easy to determine. In many widely separated parts of the Greek world, applied equally to men and to women, standing alone, or, more frequently, coupled with χρηστός and/or other epithet, we meet the term ἄλυπος.[19] I have not come across it in Boeotia, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace or Thasos, and it is rare in Attica (*IG* II^2 8150, 11740, 13011), the Peloponnese (*IG* IV 645, V (1) 809, 1278, V (2) 210), most of the Aegean islands (*IG* XII (3) 850, XII (5) 85, 91, 417, XII (7) 291, XII Suppl. 198, 242, 688), Asia Minor (*CIG* 3261), and Italy (*IG* XIV 885, the epitaph of a Commagenian buried at Capua), but it is common in Aegina, Anaphe, Rhenea, and, above all, in Syria and Egypt. What, then, is the sense of ἄλυπος? The word bears two distinct meanings,[20] which we may term active and passive, (*a*) causing no grief (or pain), and (*b*) suffering no grief (or pain). How highly the Greeks prized a life free from the pain of physical weakness, bereavement and poverty and crowned by a glorious end we can judge from the stories of Tellus of Athens and of Cleobis and Biton of Argos, attributed by Herodotus (I 30 f.) to Solon when asked by Croesus whom he deemed the most blessed (ὀλβιώτατος) of men. This same freedom from grief is occasionally emphasised in metrical epitaphs, as, *e.g.*, in the couplet

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[16] *IG* II^2 12583 χρηστὴ ἀγαθὴ κυκλίστρια. But I have little doubt that here ἀγαθή indicates professional rather than moral excellence, as we might say 'He is a bad man but a good carpenter'. The distinction between these two senses of ἀγαθός appears in *IG* XIV 1319 ἀγαθῶι, τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν τέχνην. In *IG* II^2 9121, the epitaph of a Cypriote buried at Athens, we have a thrice-repeated χρηστός.

[17] *Cf.* Stobaeus, *Ecl.* II 108 χρηστότητα δὲ ἐπιστήμην εὐποιητικήν. The aspect of serviceableness would be prominent in the case of slaves or freedmen (*IG* II^2 11515, IX (2) 855, 859, 861), as in the epitaph of a Thasian shepherd [χρ]ηστὸς [τοῖς δ]εσπόταις, discussed by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII 152 ff.; see Robert's remarks in *Études anatoliennes*, 369 f. Hesychius has the entries χρηστός· χρήσιμος and χρηστῶν· χρησίμων, but only once, so far as I know, is χρήσιμος used in an epitaph (Paton-Hicks, *Cos*, 272).

[18] Other epithets applied to ψυχή in prose epitaphs are ἄκακος (*IG* XIV 2077), ἀείμνηστος (*ib.* 1364), ἀσύνκριτος (*ib.* 2024), σεμνὴ καὶ ἀσύνκριτος καὶ ἀείμνηστος (*ib.* 1700), ἁγνὴ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ εὐσεβεστάτη (*SEG* IV 133).

[19] The feminine ἀλύπη is rare (*IG* V (1) 809, *SEG* VII 274); sometimes the word is misspelt ἄλοιπος (*SEG* VII 903, *Sammelbuch*, 6172, Le Bas-Wadd. 1853, 1870). In A. D. Trendall's *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* ^{2} (Sydney, 1948), 451, two Greek inscriptions brought from Antioch by Prof. S. Angus are thus entered: '70. εὐψυχιαβιφθαλυπε[?]; 71. [?]λιπε χαῖ|ρε'. In no. 70 εὐψύχι (common in epitaphs, e.g. *SEG* VII 66, 802) and ἄλυπε are certain; the intervening name eludes me, nor does the list of names in H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften*, 8 f., provide a convincing solution, though Αβιβε or Αβιβαθ is possible. In no. 71 the name is lost, but ἄ]λ⟨υ⟩πε χαῖ|ρε may be confidently restored.

[20] For examples, all except one drawn from literature, see LS^9 *s.v.* The word does not occur in Homer, Aeschylus or Herodotus, but is common in Sophocles and later writers.

πλεῖστα μὲν εὐφρανθεὶς βιότῳι, λύπαις δὲ ἐλαχίσταις
χρησάμενος, γήρως τέρμα μολὼν πρὸς ἄκρον.[21]

But if ἄλυπος is to be interpreted in this passive sense, it must be excluded from the list of laudatory epithets, for the mere absence of pain, while it may well be a ground for congratulation, cannot rank as a virtue. I feel convinced, however, that in prose epitaphs the word is to be taken in its active sense, and I appeal to the phraseology of several epigrams which obviously express the same idea as that conveyed by ἄλυπος in prose: *IG* II^2 5673 [οὐδ]ένα λυπήσασα, 6873 [ο]ὐθενὶ λυπη⟨ρ⟩ά, 13098 πᾶσιν φίλος οὐθένα λυπῶν, *IG* XIV 463, 1976 μηδένα λυπήσας, 1857 οὐδένα λυπήσας, 1890 οὐδένα λοιπήσασα. And this interpretation is confirmed by phrases found in four prose epitaphs, from Laconia, Arcadia, Macedonia and Bithynia respectively, ἄλυπε πᾶσι in *IG* V (1) 1278, and μηδένα λυπήσας in *IG* V (2) 491, L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, 84 f., and F. K. Dörner, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien*, 104 f. no. 121.[22] Thus in the constantly recurrent ἄλυπος of the epitaphs we have no mere record of the untroubled lives led by those commemorated, but the assertion of a positive virtue, albeit expressed in a negative form, the claim that they had passed through life without causing pain or grief to those around them. I cannot but wonder whether the same active sense should be attributed to προσφιλής, common on Thasian graves, which I have always hitherto interpreted as 'beloved'; the phrase πο]λίταις προσφι[λής] (*IG* XII (8) 569) favours, but by no means proves, the active meaning. Whether the personal name Ἄλυπος and its variants [23] were bestowed as auspicious omens of an untroubled life, or as expressing a virtue which, it was hoped, the bearers would display, I cannot say; perhaps there is no single or simple answer to the question.

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[21] *IG* II^2 10510.

[22] I omit *IG* XIV 1588 καλῶς πράξας, μηδένα λυπήσας, μηδενὶ προσκρούσας because of the editor's comment 'videtur christiana', though I am not convinced of its truth. Another relevant text comes from near Amasia in Pontus (*Studia Pontica*, III 241) ἐν μηδενὶ λυπήσασα τὸν πάτρωνά μου Κύρικον, ἐν φθιμένοις ἄλυπος ὑπάρχω, a curious blend of prose and verse.

[23] Ἄλυπος (*IG* II^2 9683, *SEG* III 421, 25, VI 146), Ἀλύπη (Demitsas, Μακεδονία, 432), Ἀλυπιανός (*CIG* 1546), Ἀλύπιος (*SEG* VIII 230, *Sammelbuch*, 4722, 3), Ἀλύπις (*SEG* IV 654, 6), Ἀλυπώ (Ugolini, *Albania Antica*, III 121). On the other hand, Ἀλύπητος (*Hesperia* X 16 f.), Ἀλύπηθος (*SEG* VIII 760) and Ἀλύπατος (*SEG* IX 654) must be interpreted as passives.

Another epithet of doubtful meaning, used especially in Egypt, is πασίφιλος,[24] which LS^9 translates ‘ loved by all ’, giving three references to inscriptions and one to a papyrus. In view, however, of its close and constant association with the active χρηστός, ἄλυπος and the like, and the collocation πᾶσιν φίλος οὐθένα λυπῶν (*IG* II^2 13098), I incline to give it also an active sense, believing that the passive was expressed by πασιφίλητος (*IG* V (1) 1494, V (2) 254) or by ὑπὸ πάντων πεφιλημένος (*SEG* VII 1235); to which class φίλος πάντων (*ib.* 260, *IG* XIV 2119*a*) belongs I cannot say.

I must not attempt to examine separately any more of these epithets, but in closing I review briefly some of them, especially those not already mentioned, though I find the task of satisfactory classification beyond my powers.

To wealth, high birth, or power I find no reference,[25] to intellectual distinction only πάνμουσος (*IG* XIV 929) and πάσης μουσικῆς μετέχουσα (*ib.* 1770). Instinctively we recall the Pauline description of the early Christians, οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοί, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς (I *Cor.* I, 26). Bravery, too, is lacking, save for one example of ἀνδρικός (*IG* VII 2345), while physical characteristics appear remarkably seldom: a four-year-old boy is commemorated as καλόμαλλος (*IG* XIV 1476), and καλλίστη (*ib.* 1405) and πάγκαλος (*Sammelbuch*, 331) probably indicate personal beauty, but it is hard to say how far καλός, which is not infrequent, refers to physical, and how far to moral, beauty, though I think that the moral sense predominates.[26] Religion —represented by εὐσεβής,[27] εὐσεβέστατος, ὅσιος (*IG* XIV 1480; *cf.* F. K. Dörner, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien*, 105 no. 121), ἁγνός, ἁγνότατος (*IG* II^2 9526, XIV 1809, 1829), φιλόθεος (*SEG* II 521), θεοφιλής (*IG* XIV 480), θεοσεβής (Paton-Hicks, *Cos*, 278)—plays a minor, but not wholly unimportant, role. A large number of virtues are denoted by negative epithets—ἄκακος, ἄμεμπτος, ἀμ(ε)ίμητος, ἀμόλυντος (*IG* XIV 264), ἀμώμητος (Le Bas-Wadd. 2007), ἄμωμος (Demitsas, Μακεδονία, 463), ἀναμάρτητος (*IG* XIV 1731), ἀπρόσκοπτος (*ib.* 404), ἀστομάχητος (*ib.* 2095), ἀσύγκριτος, ἄφθορος (*ib.* 2088)—while others, though positive, are quite general in character—ἄξιος, ἡρμοσμένος (*ib.*

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[24] It is questionable whether we should write πασίφιλος (with LS^9) or πᾶσι φίλος. The forms πασίφιλος, -ε, applied to women (*Sammelbuch*, 6164, 6168, 6651) favour the former alternative, but πᾶσι γεγῶτα φίλον (*SEG* VIII 497), πᾶσιν φίλος (*IG* II^2 13098), ἅ[π]ασι φίλος (Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, 336), φίλη πᾶσι (*SEG* VIII 569), and the feminine in -η (*Sammelbuch*, 6192, 7254 = *SEG* VIII 494) support the latter, though not decisively. Perhaps both are admissible, but in any case the meaning of the word is more important than its form.

[25] Unless the curious phrase ἦν χρηστὸς καὶ χρηστῶ[ν ἐξεγ]έν[ετο - (*IG* II^2 10904; *cf.* L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII 152) refers to ‘ good ’ birth; I doubt the restoration and suggest as possible χρηστῶ[ς ἔζησ]εν or ἐβίωσ]εν.

[26] The moral interpretation is involved in the frequent phrases like καλῶς βιώσας or καλῶς ζήσας, as also, I think, in the common καλὴ ψυχή (*IG* V (1) 1487, IX (2) 849, *SEG* IX 882, A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, 597). In *IG* V (1) 789 [ψυχὴ] καλή should perhaps be restored in place of - - κάλη.

[27] Εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἀγαθή (*IG* XIV 45), χρηστὴ καὶ εὐσεβής (*ib.* 332), εὐσεβὴς περὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους (*ib.* 1664). Numerous examples are collected by L. Robert, who shows (*Hellenica*, II 81 f.) that in *IG* XII (2) 368 εὐσεβεῦ is not an irregular vocative of εὐσεβής, but the ethnic of Εὐσέβεια.

1393), ἐνάρετος, πανάρετος, [πάσῃ ἀ]ρετῇ κεκοσ[μημένος (*ib.* 2032). Another group of epithets refers primarily to the feelings of the survivors, though implying the possession by the deceased of qualities which evoked these feelings;[28] such are ἀγαπητός (*SEG* II 521), ἐπιζήτητος (*IG* XIV 2072), ζητητός (*SEG* IX 907), καταθύμιος, πασιφίλητος, ποθεινός (*IG* II^2 9152), ποθητός (*IG* VII 3434, IX (2) 844), ὑπὸ πάντων πεφιλημένος, and with these we may perhaps associate the extremely common γλυκύτατος, and also ἀείμνηστος (especially frequent at Rome) and ἀληθάργητος.[29] We come finally to the epithets which are more specific, and therefore more illuminating. Foremost among these is a group compounded with φιλ(ο)-, such as φίλανδρος, φιλανδροτάτη (*IG* V (2) 492), φιλογύναιος (*Sammelbuch*, 411), φιλότεκνος (*ib.* 411, 697, *SEG* II 521), φιλάδελφος (see note 15), φιλόστοργος (*IG* XIV 1809), φιλογίτων (*SEG* I 574), φιλόφιλος (*ib.* 538, *IG* V (2) 491, *Sammelbuch*, 411), φιλοχήρα (*SEG* II 521), φιλαθήναιος (*IG* II^2 8393), φιλάνθρωπος (*IG* V (2) 491, *Sammelbuch*, 331), φιλόθεος (*SEG* II 521)—to which we may add φίλος ἀσύνκριτος καὶ ἄσυλος (*IG* XIV 929). Loyalty, justice, straightforwardness, financial rectitude, and honour are highly esteemed—πιστός, πιστότατος (*SEG* IV 33, IX 823, *IG* XIV 1610, 1651), δίκαιος (*IG* II^2 12034, 12749, *SEG* IV 133), ἁπλοῦς, ἁπλούστατος (*IG* XIV 929, 1610), μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλουσα (*ib.* 905), ἔντιμος (*ib.* 1761), τ(ε)ίμιος—and pity makes a rare but significant appearance in ἐλεήμων (A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, 110) and φιλοχήρα (*SEG* II 521). Stress is frequently laid, especially in the epitaphs of women, upon dignity and propriety of conduct—σεμνή (*SEG* VI 565, *IG* XIV 1700, 2095), σεμνοτάτη (*IG* V (2) 218, 492, Demitsas, Μακεδονία, 744, *IG* XIV 790), κοσμίως ζήσασα (F. K. Dörner, *op. cit.* 115 nos. 135, 137–8), σώφρων (*IG* I^2 1058, XIV 1483, 1490, 1645), εὐπρεπῶς βιώσασα (*IG* XIV 318). Nor is the lighter side of life wholly ignored; a touch of gaiety meets us in εὐφρόσυνος (*Sammelbuch*, 411) and εὔθυμος (Le Bas-Wadd. 2382), and of refinement in κομψός (*SEG* I 562) and ἁβρός (*IG* VII 2344). The precise sense of εὔμοιρος δοῦλος (*IG* IX (2) 88; *cf.* XII (5) 319) I do not know.

What features, then, emerge in the composite photograph thus taken? We see the portrait of one who respects religion, but in whose life it does not play a leading part, one for whom virtue is in the main related to the family and the circle of friends and neighbours, consisting above all in a friendly helpfulness and the avoidance of all that might cause pain or annoyance to others, one whose affections are warm, but normally restricted, and who claims no special loyalty to city-state or sovereign lord, one who values honesty, fidelity, probity and all the qualities which help the wheels of social intercourse to run smoothly, one who welcomes the gleam of humour which lightens the drabness of everyday life. Such was the ' average ' Greek—or such he sought to be.

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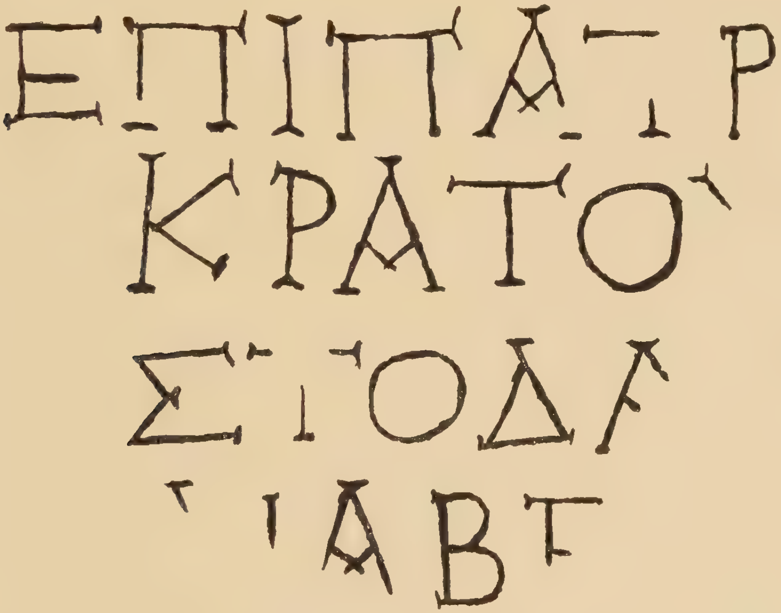
[28] Out of seventy-three epithets found in the obituary notices in the ' Times ' during one week in July, 1950, seventy-one were of this type (beloved, dearly loved, dear, deeply mourned, and the like), and only two (devoted) recorded directly a virtue exemplified by the deceased.

[29] L. Robert rightly claims (*Hellenica*, IV 130) that this adjective, which in a Cyzicene epitaph (*JHS* XXII 203) is coupled with ἀείμνηστος, must mean ' unforgettable ' and not, as translated in LS^9, ' free from lethargy, energetic '.

Marcus N. Tod

SOME NOTES ON THE SPARTAN Σφαιρεῖς

It seems appropriate to contribute to this volume an unpublished fragment from Sparta of a list of victorious σφαιρεῖς, of which Professor Wace kindly gave me a squeeze many years ago, and to append to it some miscellaneous notes on the lists of this class published in *IG* V. 1, 674–688. Some of these notes have already appeared in print, in earlier volumes of the *Annual*, but it may be helpful to collect and slightly amplify them here, using the prosopographical evidence now available for establishing a more exact date for some of the lists. It seems also a suitable occasion to examine briefly a new interpretation of these lists suggested in a recent work on Sparta.[1]



Fragment of Sphaireis-Inscription.
(Scale *c.* 2/3.)

1. A new fragment of a list of Σφαιρεῖς

Upper left-hand corner of a stele with remains of pediment. H. 0·17 m.; w. 0·17 m.; th. 0·10 m. Letters 0·016–0·025 m., with apices.

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[1] (Miss) K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta: a Re-examination of the Evidence* (1949).

‘Found on land of Leopoulos, Dec. 1908, now in Sparta Museum’ (A.J.B.W.).

’Επὶ πατρ[ονόμου – $\overset{5/6}{-}$ – –]
κράτου̣[ς, βιδέου δὲ ’Αρι-]
στοδά̣[μου τοῦ – – $\overset{6/7}{-}$ – –,]
δ̣ι̣αβ.[τεος δὲ – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – σφαιρεῖς]
[– – – – οἱ νικάσαντες]
[τὰς ὠβάς, κ.τ.λ.].

The lettering is not sufficiently distinctive to permit of close dating: it might be as early as the middle of the first century of our era, but is unlikely to be later than *c.* A.D. 120. The loss of the first half of the name of the Eponymos adds to our difficulties, but the choice of names seems limited to –κράτης preceded by five or perhaps six letters. Thus such common Spartan names as Damokrates, Pasikrates, Philokrates or Sosikrates are ruled out, and we might choose between [Καλλι]κράτης and [Νεικο]κράτης, if five letters are missing, or suggest [’Αριστο]κράτης if six are missing. Seeing that we have no certain instance of an Eponymos named Kallikrates between the time of Augustus and the mid-second century, and that the only Aristokrates who might suit the evidence of the lettering possessed, and would probably be referred to by, the Roman names Lucius Volussenus,[2] I would prefer to suggest [Νεικο]κράτους here, and to identify him with the Nikokrates of whose year we have lists of Ephors and *Nomophylakes* recorded on the wall of the theatre. He is to be dated probably to the first half of the reign of Trajan.[3] For the name of the *Bideos* I prefer to restore [’Αρι]στοδά̣[μου], leaving six or seven spaces for his father’s name; [’Αρι]στοδα̣[μίδα] or – –δα̣[μαντος] seems less likely, as involving a still shorter patronymic. Since, moreover, we know of an Aristodamos whose year as Eponymos was very close to that of Nikokrates,[4] we should not be rash, I feel, in identifying him with the *Bideos* on our fragment. For the name of the *Diabetes*, of the victorious *Obe* or of any member of the team, there is of course no evidence, apart from the fact that if the date suggested is approximately correct, the victors cannot have been the Konooureis, as we shall see below.

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[2] *BSA* XXVI 164, 1, A 3–5, and 174–7 (a list of the *Gerontes* of his year).

[3] We may, I think, disregard the fact that in these two lists, *BSA* XXVI 167, 1, C3 (α) (β) his name is spelt Νικο–; the same man, apparently, is called Δεξίμαχος ὁ καὶ Νεικοκράτης, *op. cit.* 163, 1, A9. I now realise that I was mistaken in suggesting (*BSA*, *loc. cit.*, 161, 179) that he should be dated to about the end of the reign of Trajan. On the other hand it is impossible to accept the date *c.* 85/6 suggested by Miss Chrimes (*op. cit.* 463), for two reasons: (1) Agion, son of Artemisios, whose *cursus* began with the office of σειτώνης in the year of Deximachos ὁ καὶ Νεικοκράτης in the text just mentioned (1, A9), lived to be a member of the Gerousia for the fifth time under Eudamos, whose date cannot be earlier than *c.* 140 (*c.* 141/2, Chrimes). A public career lasting fully fifty-five years is an improbable assumption, to say the least. (2) We know from *BSA* XXVI, *loc. cit.* 1, B1 (β) that the senior member of the board of Γυναικονόμοι in the year of Nikokrates was Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος, whom we find as a σφαιρεύς in *IG* V. 1, 674, to be discussed below, and who was also a member of the Gerousia for the third and fourth times under Philokleidas and Aristokrates respectively. Since the date of the latter was not far from A.D. 112 (see below), it seems most unlikely that a post implying, and probably requiring, considerable public experience, such as that of senior Γυναικονόμος, could have been held more than twenty-five years before one’s fourth term in the Gerousia. It is much more reasonable to suggest the year of Nikokrates was very close to that of Aristokrates, and possibly should be placed in the short period separating him from Philokleidas.

2. The dating of the Σφαιρεῖς-lists

Thanks to the extensive additions to our knowledge of the prosopography of Sparta, especially in the second century after Christ, afforded by the inscriptions found in excavating the theatre in 1924–27, it is possible to suggest, within fairly narrow limits, dates for several of these lists, with which I shall deal in the order in which they appear in the *Corpus* (*IG* V. 1, 674–88).

674. I accept Kolbe's view that in l. 1 [Με]νεκλέο[ς] is to be restored as the name of the *Diabetes*, and not of the Eponymos, though he is in all probability identical with the Eponymos of *c.* 97/8 (*IG* V. 1, 667). We cannot tell, of course, how many years elapsed between his tenure of these two offices, of which the former may have been held in his early twenties, but we have a further clue in that two of the victorious team in our list are found later as members of the Gerousia, [’Αριστ]ομένης ’Επικτήτου (l. 5) and Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος (l. 9), each for the third time, in the year of C. Julius Philokleidas (*IG* V. 1, 97), and the latter also for the fourth time in that of L. Volussenus Aristokrates (*BSA* XXVI 164, 1, A 3–5). The date of the latter is given as *c.* 112/13 in Miss Chrimes's list, and I accept this as approximately correct, but her date for Philokleidas (*c.* 120/1) cannot be right, since, on the evidence of the career of Σώανδρος, he was obviously earlier than Aristokrates (perhaps *c.* 105/10). It would seem improbable that membership of the Gerousia for the third time could be attained before one was fifty years of age,[5] so we might conjecture that Soandros was born *c.* 50/5 and was a σφαιρεύς, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, *c.* A.D. 70/75.[6] The further conclusion, that Menekles was *Diabetes* about twenty-five years before he was Eponymos (*c.* 97/8), seems by no means unreasonable.

675. Kolbe's suggested date for Mnason, the Eponymos here and in *IG* V. 1, 98 (a list of Gerontes), seems to be too early, and I would prefer to date him not to the reign of Domitian (with Kolbe), but close to Philokleidas; and Miss Chrimes's suggestion, *c.* 106/7, would fit quite well with the fact that ’Αλεξᾶς Χρυσέρωτος, the captain of the team, was later πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων

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[4] *BSA* XXVI 165, 1, B1 (γ), and 183.

[5] Chrimes, *op. cit.* 140, concludes that a minimum age for admission to the Gerousia of fifty years seems not improbable. It might be suggested that the age of entry was lowered from the original one of sixty years when membership was made annual and elective.

[6] For the age of the σφαιρεῖς, which she defines as 'above the age of twenty', see Chrimes, *op. cit.* 132; I take this to mean 'in their twenty-first year'.

in the year of Tib. Claudius Atticus, for whom I again accept Miss Chrimes's date, *c.* 134/5. The age of forty-eight for his tenure of this office would raise no difficulty.

676. The dating of this list, of the year of Agathokles son of Kleophantos, also turns to some extent on the date of Mnason. Kolbe is wrong, I feel sure, in putting Agathokles' year in the reign of Trajan,[7] since we now have learned, from the *cursus* of Ἐπάγαθος Σωκράτους, the captain of the team (*BSA* XXVI 172, 1, E 12), that he was a member of the Gerousia for the first time in the year of Mnason, after holding the offices of *Nomophylax* and Ephor. If he was approximately fifty in 106/7 we must put his year as σφαιρεύς under the Eponymos Agathokles back to *c.* 76/7, perhaps very soon after the date of No. 674. This date would be consistent with the fact that his name is not to be found in any of the numerous documents dating from the reign of Trajan, or even slightly earlier, which we now possess. A further consequence is that we must reconsider the *stemma* of the family appended by Kolbe to this list, for it is no longer possible to identify Phileros, son of Theoxenos, who is *Diabetes* here, with Γά. Ἰούλιος Φιλέρως Θεοξένου who is found in a list of the Gerousia (*IG* V. 1, 112, l. 2) probably early in the reign of Pius, unless we believe that he lived to the age of about ninety. On the other hand, this later Phileros is presumably identical with the πρέσβυς ἐφόρων of the year of Claudius Aristoteles (*IG* V. 1, 68), and it was his son, *i.e.* Theoxenos III, who was σπονδοποιός in the year when his father was a member of the Gerousia. The revised *stemma* should, I suggest, run as follows:

Θεόξενος I
676 *pater* *c.* 45
|
Φιλέρως
676 διαβέτης ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους *c.* 75
(?) |
Θεόξενος II
68 *pater* *c.* 105
|
Γά. Ἰού. Φιλέρως Θ.
112 γερουσίας ἐπὶ (?) *c.* 140/150
68 πρ. ἐφόρων ἐπὶ Κλ. Ἀριστοτέλους
|
Θεόξενος III
112 σπονδοποιός. *c.* 140

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[7] I do not understand why Kolbe, in reconstructing the *stemma* of the family of the *Diabetes* Phileros, indicates ±90 as his approximate date, whilst attributing the list to the reign of Trajan.

677. It is particularly difficult to fix an exact date for this list. Not only is the *cognomen* of the Eponymos – Κλαύδιος – – missing, but also that of the *Bideos*, Κανίνιος – –, for whom Tod's restoration Εὔπορος, which is adopted by Kolbe, is far from certain; and the *Diabetes*, Thrasyboulos, is otherwise unknown. The date of Euporos, if correctly restored, in turn depends on that of the Eponymos, Καλλικράτης Ῥούφου, in whose year he was one of four σπονδοφόροι (*IG* V. 1, 53, l. 32). Miss Chrimes [8] follows Kolbe in attributing him to the reign of Trajan, and proposes the date *c.* 100/1, but the evidence in favour of a mid-second century date, reinforced by discoveries since the publication of the *Corpus*, seems unassailable.[9] It should also be observed that if Euporos was a *Spondophoros*, no doubt as a young boy, at about the middle of the second century, he could scarcely have been a *Bideos* until thirty or more years later, say *c.* 180 at the earliest. But the letter-forms of our σφαιρεῖς-list (*e.g.* Α, for which at that date we should expect λ) seem to exclude such a late date. It seems safer, accordingly, to reject the restoration of the name Euporos and the dating which it implies; and this caution is further justified by the fact that we now know of two other Spartans who had the *nomen* Caninius,[10] though neither of them can be identified with the *Bideos* in our list.

678. The understanding of this text, which in any case does not follow the usual formulae in these lists, is made more difficult by the unsatisfactory copies on which we have to rely. Neither Dodwell's version, nor the variant readings given by LeBas from a copy by Lenormant, enable us to restore the text or to suggest a possible date. It may be added that Kolbe's conjecture Πολυά̣(ν)θει [κάσεν] for the last line (ΠΟΑΥΛΟΕΙ, Dodwell, ΜΟΑΥΛΟΣ, LeBas) seems particularly unconvincing.

679. In addition to the fact that the *Bideos* had the *nomen* Aelius, implying a date for this fragment not earlier than Hadrian, the use of –ω for –ου in the genitive suggests that it could hardly be placed earlier than *c.* 140.[11]

680. There is no fresh evidence for the date of Lysippos, son of Damainetos, the Eponymos of this list, but I am certain that Kolbe puts him too early in suggesting 'Imp. Ant. Pio vel M. Aurelio'; on the evidence which he furnishes, a date *c.* 170 would seem more probable.[12]

681. In view of the revised version of ll. 1–3 of this list which I published

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[8] *Op. cit.* 464 and 467–8, note A. She does not, to my mind, strengthen a weak case by postulating not one but two namesakes, one for Kallikrates and the other for Chares, son of Chares, who was πρέσβυς συναρχίας in the year of Kallikrates (*BSA* XXVI 166, 1, B8).

[9] I have little to add to my summary of the evidence in *BSA* XXVI 186.

[10] *BSA* XXVI 168, 1, C6 and 170, 1, D3; *cf.* H. Box, *JRS* XXII (1932), 167 f.

[11] Among the dedications by victors in the παιδικὸς ἀγών at the sanctuary of Orthia the earliest dateable instance of –ω for –ου is no. 43, *c.* A.D. 133/4; nos. 46, 50, 52, 54 seem to belong to the period 140–170, and later on it is still more frequent. (Cf. *Artemis Orthia*, 319 ff.)

[12] Chrimes, *loc. cit.*, says 'near in date to Agetoridas (*c.* 168/9)'; I should put A. a few years earlier (*c.* 163/4?).

recently (*BSA* XLIII 256), in which the name of the *Diabetes* is restored as [Γαΐου Πομπω]νίου 'Αρισ[τέα τοῦ 'Αλκάστου], the date may be put as *c.* A.D. 140, the approximate year of the Patronomate of his father C. Pomponius Alkastos.[13]

682. I suggested also in the same article (248), *à propos* of a reconstruction of *IG* V. 1, 172 + 174 + 175, that we should read in ll. 3–5 of V. 1, 682 – –, προστά] | του δὲ τῆς φ[υλῆς καὶ γυμνασιάρ] | χου Αὐρ. 'Απο[λλωνίου τοῦ ⟨ ·σφαι] | ρεῖς, κ.τ.λ. To this I would now add that the letters surviving in l. 1 and before διαβετ– in l. 2 are surely the remains of the name of the *Bideos*, and not of the *Patronomos* of the year, for it would be unusual for the name of the former official to be omitted. This conjecture is made practically certain when we observe that P. Aelius Alkandridas, son of Damokratidas, whose name is restored rightly in ll. 1–2, received a statue from the City and his colleagues in his capacity of πρέσβυς βιδέων, *IG* V. 1, 556 *A*. As, moreover, we know that he won a victory at Olympia in 197/8, no doubt several years before holding the distinguished office of President of the board of *Bideoi*, and as, further, among his colleagues on the board are three men named Aurelius, without the *praenomen* Marcus, our list *IG* V. 1, 682 must be put (perhaps a very few years) after A.D. 212.

683. There is nothing to add to the evidence cited by Kolbe for the date of this (lost) list, which he gives as '*Ineunte III. p. Chr. saec.*' His subsequent conjecture for ll. 8/9, βιδέου δὲ Μ. Αὐρ. 'Ρο[ύφου] | τ̣ο̣ῦ [Κλεάνορος],[14] though most convincing, sheds no fresh light on the date.

684. It is by no means certain that this list is correctly restored at the beginning, so as to read ['Επὶ πατρονόμου] | Γαΐου Π̣[ομπωνίου Παν] | θάλους [Διογένου 'Αρι] | στέα – σφαιρεῖς, κ.τ.λ., since we should expect the names of the *Bideos* and the *Diabetes* to follow that of the Eponymos. I prefer to follow the alternative mentioned, but not adopted, by Kolbe, and would read [– – – – διαβέτεος δὲ] | Γαΐου Π̣[ομπωνίου, κ.τ.λ., assuming that the names of the Eponymos and the *Bideos* are missing. In any case, the frequency of the *nomen* Aurelius, without the *praenomen*, points to a date after A.D. 212.

685. The restoration which I proposed recently for the name and titles of the Eponymos here, whom I identified with M. Aurelius Philippos (*BSA* XLIII 256 f.), indicates that this list must also be dated after 212, since the same man appears in *IG* V. 1, 551 as High-Priest of the Emperors, and as defraying the cost of a statue to a man whose son assumed the name Aurelius, presumably in 212. As Philippos does not there record the titles of αἰώνιος ἀγορανόμος, αἰώνιος ἀριστοπολιτευτής which he bears in our list, presumably it is the earlier of the two.

686, –7, –8. I can shed no light on the date of these fragments, though perhaps the curved letter-forms of 686, found also in 682 but not elsewhere among these lists, may indicate an approximately similar date.[15]

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[13] Chrimes, *loc. cit.*, '*c.* 139/40', with which I agree.

[14] *IG* V. 1, *Addenda et Corrigenda*, p. 304.

One other item of chronological interest may be recalled here, namely that the Konooureis celebrated their first victory for forty years in the year of Hermogenes, probably early in the reign of Hadrian.[16] The only definite records of their victories fall later than this period, no. 681 *c.* 140 and no. 684 after A.D. 212. As has been pointed out above, this means that our new fragment, if correctly dated to the year of Nikokrates, early in the reign of Trajan, cannot have commemorated a victory of the Konooureis.

The dates suggested for these lists may be shown in tabular form, as follows:

		Date	Eponymos (or other official)	
IG V. 1	674	*c.* 70/75	?	*Diabetes*, Menekles
,,	676	*c.* 75/80	Agathokles	
,,	675	*c.* 106/7	Mnason	
New frag.	—	*c.* 105/10	Nikokrates (?)	
IG V. 1	677	early second cent. (?)	– Claudius – –	
,,	679	after *c.* 140	?	*Bideos*, Aelius – –
,,	681	*c.* 140	?	*Diabetes*, C. Pomponius Aristeas – –
,,	680	*c.* 170/5	Lysippos	
,,	682	after 212	?	*Bideos*, P. Ael. Alkandridas
,,	683	,,	Divus Lycurgus, ε′	
,,	684	,,	?	*Diabetes*, C. Pomponius Panthales Diogenes Aristeas
,,	685	,,	M. Aur. Philippos	
		(relative order of these four uncertain)		
,,	678	no certain indications of date.[17]		
,,	686			
,,	687			
,,	688			

3. Were the Σφαιρεῖς teams of ball-players?

There can be no real doubt that the σφαιρεῖς whose victories are recorded in these lists are to be identified with the young men bearing that title whose contests were described by Pausanias.[18] But the suggestion, put forward by Miss Chrimes in her recent book, and argued with considerable ingenuity,[19] that these victories were not gained in a ball-game of some sort, but in boxing-contests, is, I believe, entirely new, and deserves careful consideration. The basis of her suggestion is that the word σφαιρεῖς may mean here the wearers of boxing-gloves (σφαῖραι) rather than ball-players, and she concludes: 'Whether the team-matches in which, as the inscriptions tell us, the *Sphaireis* took part were boxing matches or a ball game is not important, but the evidence on the whole favours the first interpretation '. It is not very clear in what sense ' not important ' is to be interpreted here, but I would not agree that it ' is not important ' to assess the evidence correctly when putting forward such a revolutionary suggestion. Let us see what this evidence is, and what value is to be attached to it. Summarising it briefly, and not (I believe) unfairly, it is this:—

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[15] On the other hand, nos. 683, 684 and 685, all ascribed to the first quarter of the third century, do not exhibit these rounded letter-forms.

[16] Cf. *BSA* XXVI 165, 1, A12 and 180 f.; Chrimes, *op. cit.*, 465 dates him *c.* 116/17, perhaps slightly too early.

[17] 686 perhaps soon after A.D. 200. See above.

[18] III 14, 8–10.

[19] *Op. cit.*, 131–4.

(1) The passage in Plato's *Laws*, VIII 830^{b}, where it is advocated that ἀντὶ ἱμάντων σφαίρας ἂν περιεδούμεθα, followed by the use of the word σφαιρομαχία (830^{e}) to describe this kind of boxing.

(2) (Xenophon), *Resp. Lac.* IV 6. The oldest classes of Spartan youths were divided into two groups . . . the members of each of which πυκτεύουσι διὰ τὴν ἔριν ὅπου ἂν συμβάλωσι, κ.τ.λ. ' Presumably therefore they went about continuously wearing σφαῖραι, their ball-like boxing gloves ' (*op. cit.*, 133).

(3) Τὰ σφαιρομάχια, mentioned as a traditional ἀγών at Sparta (Eustath. *ad Od.* θ 372), are presumably a variant of ἡ σφαιρομαχία; ' the latter always seems to mean a boxing match (*cf.* Plato, *Laws*, *loc. cit.*; Pollux III, 150) '.

(4) ' The tops of the stelae on which the *Sphaireis*-inscriptions are engraved have pediments, in the gable of which a circular object is represented which may be a ball. On the other hand this is a very obvious decoration for a triangular space.'

The conclusion is stated thus: ' There is no reason whatever (apart from the derivation from σφαῖρα, which is ambiguous) for supposing the Spartan *Sphaireis* to have been merely ball-players, except the ball-like object, probably a mere decoration and in any case more like a disc, in the apices of the stelae referring to them.'

Here again I do not find it easy to follow the reasoning, for the essential question seems to be not whether the *Sphaireis* were ' merely ball-players ', but whether these stelae can be used as evidence that the *Sphaireis* were in fact teams of boxers. Let us therefore consider them first, with special regard to ' the ball-like object in the pediment '.

(1) This object is found *by itself* only in no. 675 (cf. *BSA* XIII 214, fig.). On no. 683 (now lost) the ' ball ' and a snake were represented as flanking a four-armed deity (the Apollo of Amyklai); on no. 676 in the field above the incised pediment is a ' ball ' flanked with an oil-flask and two wreaths; and on no. 672 a ' ball ' with a vessel (oil-flask) and a palm is carved *below* the text. Here, at any rate, it could not possibly be a disc-like ornament, and if we still wish to claim this explanation for the ' ball ' on no. 675 we should surely expect to find similar discs on other gable-topped stelae at Sparta whatever their contents; but to my knowledge there is not a single

example of a stele so decorated. The evidence from these four stelae, the only ones on which the object in question is preserved, seems most definitely to show that it is a ball, whether represented by itself or in association with other symbols.

(2) The passage in Pollux (III 150) admittedly refers to a boxing match, but in IX 197, a passage overlooked by Miss Chrimes, he says: ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ σφαιρομαχίαν εἰπεῖν τὴν ἐπίσκυρον τῆς σφαίρας παιδίαν, a kind of ‘ American football ’ played by teams on a ground ruled out with lines, of which he gives a description above (IX 104), which reads like an account, in less violent form, of the contest of the *Sphaireis* described by Pausanias. Whilst therefore σφαιρομαχία may be used to describe either a boxing match or a particular type of ball-game played by teams, the use of the word σφαιρεύς as equivalent to σφαιρόμαχος appears not to be found in Greek literature; and in view of the definite evidence of the ball represented on our stelae, it would surely be rash to assume that the *Sphaireis* at Sparta used the word there in the sense of σφαιρόμαχοι.

(3) Even if we had not the clue afforded by the ball on the stelae we might well hesitate to accept the evidence from Plato and ‘ Xenophon ’, cited above, for Spartan youths wearing boxing-gloves known as σφαῖραι to explain a practice under the Roman Empire, when the need for boxing as an element in military training had not only ceased, but might well have been frowned upon by the Roman authorities. Moreover, if boxing at this late date played the important part in Spartan training claimed for it by Miss Chrimes, it is strange that we have no evidence of boxing-contests at the great local athletic festivals such as the Leonideia or the Eurykleia, and that no inscribed bases have survived from statues set up by, or in honour of, victorious boxers.[20]

(4) So much in reply to the evidence cited in favour of the claim that these lists may record the victories of teams of boxers. It only remains to recall the passage in Lucian, *Anacharsis*, ch. 38: μέμνησο ἤν ποτε καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔλθῃς μὴ καταγελάσαι μηδὲ ἐκείνων μηδὲ οἴεσθαι μάτην πονεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅποταν ἢ σφαίρας πέρι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ συμπίπτοντες παίωσιν ἀλλήλους, which is followed by a description of the contest, which, as related by Pausanias, took place on the ‘ island ’.[21] This seems to clinch the matter, and it is unfortunate that Miss Chrimes has overlooked this vital passage. Had she taken it into account it is hard to believe that she would have challenged the accepted explanation of the *Sphaireis*-lists.

A. M. WOODWARD

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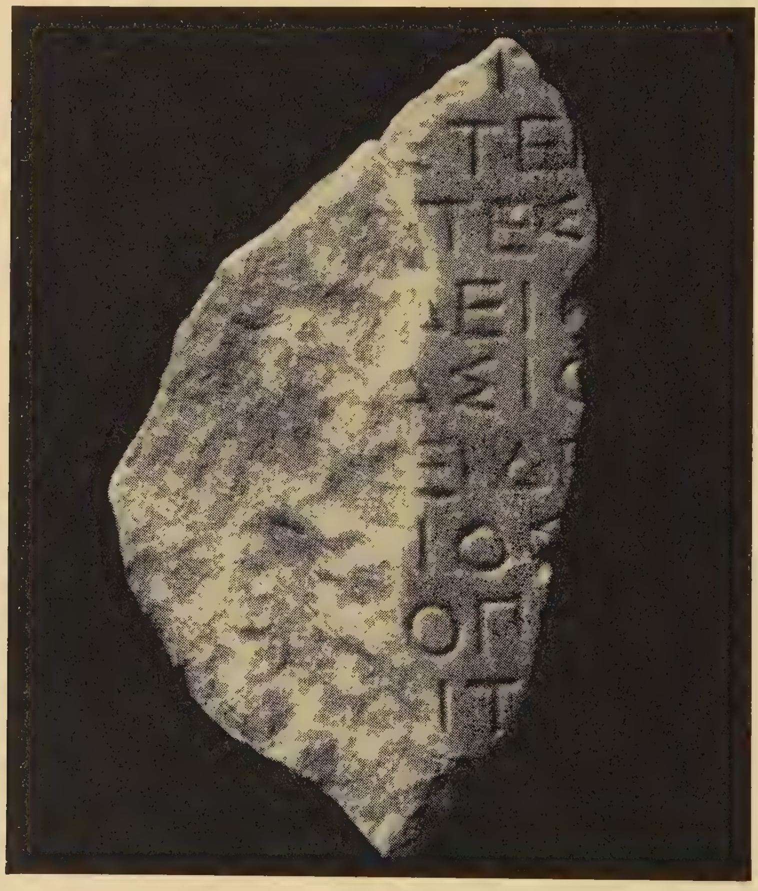
[20] I am aware of the weakness of an *argumentum e silentio*, but there appears to be no space for an entry relating to boxers in the list of athletic contests at the Leonideia recorded in *IG* V. 1, 19, ll. 6–11; the bronze tablet containing a list of money prizes awarded to victors in the same festival (or the Eurykleia?), *BSA* XXVI 213, is so incomplete that it cannot be used as evidence.

[21] III 14, 8–10. Lucian rightly distinguishes the contest on the ‘ island ’ from the ball-game, which Pausanias does not mention.

ATHENS AND NEAPOLIS

(PLATE 23)

We offer here for the inspection and criticism of Professor Wace a new text of the decrees passed by the Athenians late in the fifth century concerning their faithful allies the Neopolitans, who lived on the coast of Thrace where now is the modern town of Kavalla.



Small Fragment (EM 6589) of *IG* I², 108.
(*Courtesy of the National Epigraphical Museum*).

The larger fragments of the stone, in two groups, have been built into a bed of plaster in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, where they bear the

Inventory Number 6598 (PLATE 23). A smaller fragment, which belongs to the first decree, but which cannot be fitted into a definite place in the reconstruction of the monument, bears the Inventory Number 6589 (*cf.* FIG.).

IG I², 108+; *SEG* X, no. 124. Photograph of the larger fragments in J. Svoronos, *Nat. Ath. Museum*, Plate CCIV; photograph of the sculptured fragments in *JdI* XLII (1927), 70.

The writing of the first decree was Attic throughout except that H was used for *eta* and that the rough breathing was omitted (in one instance Λ = *lambda*). It is not *stoichedon*; ten lines occupy about 0·157 m. The writing of the second decree is strictly Attic, except for an occasional OY for O, with a *stoichedon* pattern in which the chequer unit measures 0·0079 m. (horizontal) by 0·0107 m. (vertical).

[Θ ε] ο [ί] First
[Ν] ε ο [π] ο λ ι τ õ [ν] Hand
[τ] õ μ π α ρ ὰ Θ ά σ [ο ν]
[ἔ]δοχσεν τῆι β[ο]υ[λῆι] καὶ τõι δήμοι· Λεοντὶς ἐπρυτά[νευεν,] Non-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 46
5 Σιβυρτιάδ[ης ἐγρα]μμάτευεν, Χαιριμένης ἐπεστ[άτει, Γλ]
410/09 Pryt. VI αύκιππος ἦρχ[ε, ...]θεος εἶπεν· [ἐπ]αινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπ[ολίταις] ⟨τοῖς⟩
παρὰ Θ̣άσον [πρõτον μ]ὲν | [ὅτι ἄποικοι ὄντες Θασίον] | [καὶ πολιο]
ρκόμενοι | [ὑπ' αὐτõν] | καὶ Πελο[πονν]ησίον οὐκ ἠθ[έλησαν ἀ]
[πο]στῆνα[ι ἀπ' Ἀθηναί]ον, ἄνδ[ρες δ' ἀ]γαθοὶ ἐγένο[ντο ἔς τε τὴ]
10 [ν στρα]τ[ιὰν καὶ τὸν δῆ]μον τ[ὸν Ἀθηναίον κα]ὶ το[ὺς χσυμμά]
[χους - - *ca.* 13 - - - - -] ∩ [- - - - *ca.* 16 - - -]Ε[- - *ca.* 8 - -]

lacuna

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]Ι[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΣΤΕΙ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΤΕΣ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
15 [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΔΕΙC[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΛΣΙC[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΕΙΔΕ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΙΟΣ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΟΓ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
20 [- - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΙΤ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

lacuna

[- - - - - - - *ca.* 26 - - - - - - - - - 'Α]θηνα[ιο - - - *ca.* 13 - - -]
[- - - - - - - *ca.* 27 - - - - - - - - - - -] χρήματα [- - *ca.* 11 - - -]
[- - - - - - - *ca.* 25 - - - - - - - - -]νηι Ἀθηναίον [- - *ca.* 9 - - -]
[- - - - - - - *ca.* 24 - - - - - - - -]ιασιν εἶναι Νεοπο[λιτ- *ca.* 4 - -]

[- - - - - - - - *ca.* 22 - - - - - - - -]ον καὶ χρῆσαι TTTTXX[. . . καθά]
[περ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναί]ον ἐδέοντο ὅπος ἂν ἔχο[σιν ἐς]
[τὸν πόλεμον· δάνεια δὲ πο]ιε͂σθαι αὐτοῖς ἐκ το͂γ χρημ[άτον τ]
[ούτον ἅ ἐστι τῆς Νέας Π]όλεος ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος, τοὺς ἐν̣ [Θάσοι]
[στρατηγὸς ἑκάστο το͂ ἐ]νιαυτο͂ ὁς ἀφειληφότας παρὰ [σφο͂ν γρα]
[φσαμένος ἕος ἂν ἐντελ]ε͂ ἀποδοθῆι· ποιε͂ν δὲ ταῦτα ἕ̣ος ἂν αὐ]
[τοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἦι ὁ πρὸς] Θασίος· ὃ δὲ διδόασι ν[ῦν Νεοπολῖτ]
[αι οἱ ἀπὸ Θράικη]ς καὶ βο[υ]λόμενοι καὶ ἐθελοντ[αὶ ἔδοσαν τοῖς]
[ἑλληνοταμ]ίαις 𐅇XXXX𐅆HHH καὶ πρόθυμοί εἰσ[ι ποιε͂ν ὅ, τι δύν]
[ανται ἀγ]αθὸν αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγ̣ειλάμενοι καὶ λ[όγοι καὶ ἔργοι ἐς τ]
[ὴν πόλ]ιν τὴν Ἀθηναίον, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εὐεργε[σίας ταύτης τὸ νῦ]
[ν εἶν]αι καὶ ἐν τõι λοιπõι χρόνο[ι] παρ' Ἀθηνα[ίον χάριτας εἶναι αὐ]
[τ]οῖς ὁς ἀνδράσιν οὖσιν ἀγαθο[ῖ]ς καὶ τὴ[ν πρόσοδον εἶναι αὐτ]
οῖς πρὸς τὴμ βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ[μ]ον π[ρότοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ὁς]
εὐεργέταις οὖσιν Ἀθηναίον· το[ὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τὰ ὑπομνήμα]
τα τούτον ἃ οἱ Νεοπολῖται ἔδο[σαν πάντα παραδοῦναι τõι γρ]
αμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς χορὶς μὲν [τὰ νῦν δεδομένα χορὶς δὲ τἄλ]
λα, καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε ἀναγρά[φσας ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ]
τῆς βουλῆς ἐστήληι λιθίνηι καταθ[έτο ἐμ πόλει τέλεσι τοῖ]
ς Νεοπολιτõν· ἐν δὲ Νέαι Πόληι αὐτοὶ [ἀναγράφσαντες καταθ]
έντον ἐν τõι ἱερõι τῆς Παρθένο ἐστήλ[ηι λιθίνηι· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ]
ἐπὶ χσένια τὴμ πρεσβείαν ἐς τὸ πρυτα[νεῖον ἐς αὔριον *vvvv*]

Pryt. VIII Οἰνοβίοι Δεκελεεῖ στρατεγõι TTT𐅆H[ΔΔΔ𐅂𐅂𐅂𐅂IIII] Second Hand

407/6 Ἀχσίοχος εἶπε ⁝ ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπολίταις τοῖς ἀπὸ [Θράικες Third Hand
*h*ος ὄσιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 73
ἔς τε τὲν στρατιὰν καὶ τὲμ πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον καὶ *h*ότ[ι ἐς
Θάσον ἐστρατεύοντο χσυμπολιορ]
κέσοντες μετὰ Ἀθεναίον ⁝ καὶ *h*ότι χσυνναυμαχõντ̣[ες ἐνίκον]
καὶ [κατὰ γε͂ν χσυνεμάχον τὸν πά]
ντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα *h*ότι εὖ ποιõσιν Ἀθεναίο[ς, καὶ ἀντὶ
τ]ούτον [τõν ἀγαθõν χάριτας παρὰ Ἀ]
θεναίον εἶναι αὐτοῖς καθ*h*άπερ ἐφσέφισται τ[õι δέμο]ι ⁝ [κα]ὶ
*h*όπος ἂμ μ[ὲ ἀδικõνται μεδὲν μέτ]
ε ὑπὸ ἰδιότο μέτε ὑπὸ κοινõ πόλεος τός τε σ[τρατεγὸ]ς *h*οὶ
ἂν *h*εκάστοτε ἄ[ρχοσι πάντας ἐπιμέ]
λεσθαι αὐτõν *h*ό, τι ἂν δέονται ⁝ καὶ τὸς ἄρχ[ο]ν[τ]ας τοὺς
Ἀθεναίον *h*οὶ ἂν *h*εκ[άστοτε *h*ορõσιν σφ]

55 ο͂ν τὲμ πόλιν Νεοπολίτας φυλάττοντα[ς] καὶ προθύμος ὄντας ποιε͂ν *h*ó, τι ἂν [αὐτοὺς κελεύοσιν·]
καὶ νῦν *h*ευρίσκεσθαι αὐτὸς παρὰ τ[ο͂ δ]έμο το͂ ᾿Αθεναίον *h*ó, τι ἂν δοκε͂ι ἀγαθ[ὸν τε͂ι βουλε͂ι ⁝ περὶ]
δὲ τε͂ς ἀπαρχε͂ς τε͂ι Παρθένοι *h*[έπερ κ]αὶ τέος ἐγίγνετο τε͂ι [θε]ο͂ι ἐν το͂ι δέμο[ι πράχσαι πρὸς αὐ]
τός· ἐς δὲ τὸ φσέφισμα τὸ πρό[τερον ἐ]πανορθο͂σαι τὸγ γραμματέα τε͂ς βολε͂ς ⁝ κ̣[αὶ ἐς αὐτὸ μεταγρ]
[άφ]σαι ἀντὶ τε͂ς ἀποικί[ας τε͂ς Θασί]ον *ḥ*ότι συνδιεπολέμεσαν τὸμ πόλεμον μ[ετὰ ᾿Αθεναίον ⁝ πρέ]
60 [σβεσι δὲ . .]αι : καὶ Π̣[. . . ^{7} . . . καὶ . . .]οφάντοι : ἐπαινέσαι *h*άτε νῦν λέγοσιν κ[αὶ πράττοσιν ἀγα]
[θὸν *h*υπὲρ ᾿Αθε]ν[αίον το͂ δέμο καὶ *h*ότι] πρόθυμοί εἰσι ποιε͂ν *h*ó, τι δύνανται ἀ[γαθὸν ἐς τὲν στρα]
[τιὰν καὶ τὲμ πόλιν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν καθ*h*ά]περ τὸ πρότερον· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χ[σένια ἐς αὔριον *v*]
[. . . ^{7} . . . εἶπε : τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθ*h*άπερ τε͂ι] βουλε͂ι· τε͂ι δὲ Παρθένοι ἐχσαιρε͂[σθαι τὲν ἀπαρχὲν κα]
[θ*h*άπερ τὸ πρότερον *h*ὲν ἂν Νεοπολιτο͂ν *h*ο δ]ε͂μος ε[ὔ]χσεται.

Commentary

The lettering in lines 2–3 becomes progressively crowded toward the right margin of the stone.

Lines 7–8: The objectionable phrase ὅτι ἄποικοι ὄντες Θασίον in line 7 was erased at the request of the Neopolitans (*cf.* lines 58–59) and it was found necessary also to make a subsequent erasure in line 8. Substitutions in the erasures, as underlined below, were made with the script and lettering of lines 48–64, so that the text now appears as follows:

παρὰ Θάσον [προ͂τον μ]ὲν ὅ{υ}τι συνδιεπο[λέμε]σαν τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ ᾿Αθεναίο[ν καὶ πολιο]
ρκόμενοι ὐ[πὸ Θασίον] καὶ Πελο[πονν]ησίον οὐκ ἠθ[έλησαν ἀ]

Lines 8–10: The lacuna near the centre of line 9 is too great to be filled merely by the restoration ἄνδ[ρες ἀ]γαθοί. Parts of the last five letters of [ἀ]γαθοί are preserved, and so may now be read without brackets in place of the traditional [ἀ]γα[θοί]. But the more important new change in the text is that at least one letter—possibly two—must be inserted between ἄνδ[ρες] and [ἀ]γαθοί. The reading was surely ἄνδ[ρες δ᾿ ἀ]γαθοί—or perhaps ἄνδ[ρες δὲ ἀ]γαθοί.

In either case the simple fact of letter spacing invalidates the latest suggested reading of these lines as put forward by Wilhelm in 1939: οὐκ ἠθ[ύμησαν ἀλ|λ' ἐ]ς τὴν ἄ[μυναν αὐτ]õν ἄνδ[ρες ἀ]γαθοὶ ἐγένο[ντο].[1] The break in sentence structure comes immediately before ἄνδ[ρες], and permits the convincing restoration of the preceding words as οὐκ ἠθ[έλησαν ἀ|πο]στῆνα[ι ἀπ' 'Αθηναί]ον. The Neopolitans, though colonists of the Thasians and though besieged by them and the Peloponnesians, decided not to revolt from the Athenians;[2] rather, they proved themselves noble men toward the army and the Demos of the Athenians and their allies. The end of line 9 and the beginning of line 10 must also be recast (though there is no significant change in restoration) so that the letters still preserved will fit into the text in the positions which they occupy on the stone.

Lines 12–20: No restorations are attempted in these lines, though there may be a reference to Thasians in line 16.

Line 21: The first preserved letter was round, like *omikron* or *theta*, part of the stroke appearing on the edge of the stone above the *chi rho* in χρήματα of line 22. The text of *IG* I², 108 has a vertical stroke in this letter-space.

Line 27: The first preserved letter is certainly an *iota*. It is the lower part of a vertical stroke, but it lies so close to the following *epsilon* that letters like *rho* and *tau* may be excluded.

Line 28: The text in *IG* I², 108 reads [π]όλεος ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος τοῦ Σε[ρρείου?]; a note in the commentary adds: *vix de* Σε[ρμυλιέον *Sithoniae paeninsulae cogites*. Neither name can be correct, for the letter following *sigma epsilon* was surely not *rho*. Only part of it is preserved, but the traces indicate an upper angle as of the top of *nu* or *mu*. To the right of this peak is a small spot of uninscribed surface which proves that there was no horizontal stroke extending toward the right. The letter cannot have had a top horizontal stroke. The stone was investigated for us in Athens by John H. Kent and M. Th. Mitsos, who have reported also that *chi* is not, in their opinion, permissible. They have recommended reading either *nu* or *mu*.

Line 30: The initial letter (before ἀποδοθῆι) is *epsilon*, rather than *sigma*. Its bottom horizontal stroke is quite flat, and its top stroke only partly aslant. John H. Kent has again made a verification from the stone in Athens for us. We accept his identification, which is confirmed by our own study of a squeeze.

Line 33: The first word in this line has hitherto been restored [στρατιό]τ̣αις. Final *sigma* is completely preserved, and the lower part of the three preceding letters is also preserved. But the first of them is so close to the *alpha* that it cannot have been *tau* and must be read as *iota*. Since the money given by the Neopolitans was being handed over in Athens we restore [ἑλληνοταμ]ίαις to indicate the receiving board.

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[1] *SBAK Wien* CCXVII v 94. The sentence quoted here is actually given by Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*) as οὐκ ἠθ[ύμησαν ἀλ]|λ' ἐς τὲν ἄ[μυναν αὐτ]õν ἄνδ[ρες ἀγαθοὶ] ἐγένοντο, which is particularly misleading.

[2] For the phraseology see Thuc. III 55, 3: εἰ δ' ἀποστῆναι 'Αθηναίων οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῶν κελευσάντων, οὐκ ἠδικοῦμεν.

Lines 34–35: At the end of line 25 comes part of a familiar phrase καὶ λ[όγοι καὶ ἔργοι], and we believe that the words to follow it were [ἐς τὴν πόλ]ιν rather than [ἐς τὴν στρατι]άν, as would be required by the old reading of *alpha* at the beginning of line 35.

Line 39: The reading of Ἀθεναίον in *IG* I², 108 is an error for Ἀθηναίον, all letters of which are clear on the stone. The initial word εὐεργέταις, moreover, is spelled throughout with Attic letters (Λ = *gamma*). The belief has persisted for many years that Ionic *gamma* (Γ) was used in this word, and citation of it has repeatedly been made in commentaries on the text.[3] This is an instructive example of the persistence of an error which a study of stone, photograph, or squeeze could have corrected at any time.[4]

Line 44: ΠΟΛΗΙ is on the stone.

Line 47: This line was cut later than lines 1–46, and by a different hand. The lettering is strictly Attic. Probably a belief that this line belonged to the first decree led Austin (*Stoichedon Style*, 51) to assert that the Attic form of *heta*, as well as the Ionic, there appeared. We hold that the amount of money given to the general was for use in the fighting at Thasos, and that it is identical with a loan recorded elsewhere for this year in *IG* I², 304*a* (line 28).[5] The upright stroke after the figures TTT𐅅H given in the traditional text does not in fact exist, and we have no hesitation in restoring TTT𐅅H[ΔΔΔ⊢⊢⊢IIII].[6]

Lines 48–64: The writing is Attic *stoichedon*, with seventy-three letter-spaces in each line. Marks of punctuation (except in line 48) do not occupy the space of a letter. It is hardly worth while to argue the validity of traditional restorations, for they have all been made with a length of line which extends to the right a distance of six letter-spaces beyond the edge of the stone, and they violate the fundamental (and elementary) principle of epigraphic restoration that letters should not be posited at points where there was no stone to receive them.[7]

It is true that the right margin has not been preserved at the bottom of this inscription, but both margins are preserved at the top, and the width of the stele may be accurately determined as 0·58 m. There is no evidence of tapering. Hence one needs only to measure the chequer pattern of the *stoichedon* text of lines 48–64 to know how many letters there were in each line.

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[3] *IG* I, Suppl., pp. 16–17 (1877); Roberts-Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* II (1905), 60; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, I (1915), p. 137; *IG* I² (1924), p. 59; A. Wilhelm, *SBAK Wien* CCXVII (1939) v 91; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I² (1946), p. 207.

[4] A similar error is the tradition that Ionic *lambda* was used for ἐ]πιμέλεσθ[αι in line 11 of *IG* I², 106.

[5] See the text in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents* (1932), 96. What looks like an alternative possibility in line 33 is probably to be ruled out because the restoration should be not [⁝]TTT𐅅HH𐅄ΔΔΔΔ⊢⊢⊢II, but [.]TTT𐅅HH𐅄ΔΔΔΔ⊢⊢⊢II, allowing the restoration of at least one additional talent. *Cf.* Meritt, *op. cit.*, Plates IV and VI for a photograph and drawing.

[6] Under date of March 29, 1950, John H. Kent has written from Athens as follows about this line: 'The stone breaks off after H, and nothing further is preserved. The break is peculiar in that a short distance down the side there is a ridge that runs parallel to the right hasta of H: hence the *Corpus* reading. But to repeat, the numeral preserved is TTT𐅅H, after which the inscribed surface immediately breaks off.'

[7] See especially Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, 47–58.

Line 52: The restoration in the middle of the line should be καθ*h*άπερ ἐφσέφισται τ[õι δέμο]ι ⁝ [κα]ὶ *h*όπος - - - -. The letter read in *IG* I², 108 as the E in Σ̣[ερμυλι]ε[ῦσ]ι is the final *iota* of [δέμο]ι, followed by the normal three dots of punctuation. All that is preserved of the initial letter of the supposed Σ̣[ερμυλι]ε[ῦσ]ι is part of a high horizontal stroke, clearly belonging to *tau* rather than to *sigma*.

Lines 59–60: It may be that the restoration [πρέσβεσι δὲ . .]αι : καὶ - - -, etc., has left too little room for the name of the first ambassador from Neapolis. If so, some other beginning for the sentence must be found.

Line 64: Despite objections by Bannier (*PhW* 1922, 835) to the restoration [δ]ε̃μος ε[ὔ]χσεται, and his preference for mention of a public herald, we return to the old restoration. There is no justification, epigraphically, for [εὐ]φ̣έμος as proposed by Hiller in *IG* I², 108. The setting aside of first-fruits to the Virgin was to be a regularly recurring act of piety,[8] and it cannot be made to depend temporally on a single act of prayer of the Athenian public herald.[9] The Neopolitans had asked that they be permitted to dedicate to their goddess, the Virgin, ‘ the first-fruit which even until recently was customarily given to the goddess ’. Tod, in his commentary on line 57, takes ‘ the goddess ’ to mean Athena at Athens; [10] and he thinks that the Neopolitans, from some unspecified earlier date down to the time of this decree, may have had remission of their tribute obligations to Athens except for the quota (ἀπαρχή), and that now they have petitioned that they may give to their own Virgin even the quota which they have so far given to Athena. This interpretation implies a new dispensation; we hold that the text of line 57 seeks rather the reinstatement of an old dispensation. The traditional ἀπαρχή to the goddess had lapsed, and the Neopolitans now begged that they might begin to dedicate it again. The Virgin and the goddess are identical; both references are to local conditions at Neapolis; and there is no question here of Athena at Athens or her well-known quota from the tribute.[11] We have rather to seek for circumstances that explain the temporary lapse in the usual dedications to the Virgin at Neapolis. Very probably these circumstances are those set forth in this inscription. The Neopolitans pledged their revenues in 410/09 to aid the Athenians in their war against Thasos. The usual contribution to the Parthenos, we believe, was sacrificed at this time because of the emergency. In 407/6 the war had been won, and the first request made of Athens by the Neopolitans was that they be allowed to begin again the dedication of the ἀπαρχή to their goddess. The reply of the Athenians was given in lines 63–64: ‘ that there be dedicated to the Virgin just as before that first-fruit which the Demos of the Neopolitans may vow ’. This was a gracious response to a reasonable request. We think it hardly in keeping with the mutual good-will manifest in the decree that the Neopolitans should have sought to deprive Athena of the homage of their quota from the tribute. After all, it amounted only to 16⅔ drachmai a year, unless Neapolis was assessed for a greater tribute in 407/6 than we have any evidence for in earlier records. But to ask that even this be taken away from Athena would imply a lack of magnanimity scarcely credible under the circumstances, and certainly (we believe) not worth the bother of an embassy.

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[8] *Cf.* the present tense in ἐχσαιρε̃[σθαι] in line 63 and the imperfect tense ἐγίγνετο in line 57.

[9] *E.g.* [ἐπειδὰν *h*ο κε̃ρυχς εὐ]φ̣έμος ε[ὔ]χσεται.

[10] *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, I², pp. 209–210.

[11] The notion of quota from the tribute was accepted also by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I (1939), 525–526; but cf. *op. cit.*, III, xii. If the reference were to the quota from the tribute at Athens, there ought to be some more explicit statement about it. There is no evidence that Neapolis ever had remission of her tribute; on the other hand she was probably at the time of this decree under obligation to pay even other ἀπαρχαί, of grain and perhaps of oil (cf. *IG* I², 76), to Athens. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 107, note 19, quotes Kirchhoff's opinion (*IG* I, Suppl. p. 17) that there must be reference here to the first-fruits from the Athenian tribute, else the decision about it would have been no business of the Athenians. We believe that they have underestimated the extent to which Athens might interfere in the local affairs of Neapolis, and their explanation that in effect the Neopolitans were seeking a lowering of their tribute in the guise of more first-fruits than before to their own Virgin goddess has no foundation, so far as we can see, on anything in the present text. This confusing hypothesis appears also in Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, 63.

The financial pledges made by the Neopolitans in 410/09 amounted to a series of loans and at least one outright gift of money. The details are told in lines 25–33, for which the best commentary is a translation of the entire text.

TRANSLATION

(In the first hand)

Gods

Of the Neopolitans by Thasos

Resolved by the Council and the Demos; Leontis was the prytany, Sibyrtiades was secretary, Chairimenes was epistates, Glaukippos was archon, - - - theos made the motion: to praise the Neopolitans by Thasos first because being colonists of the Thasians and being besieged by them and the Peloponnesians [12] they decided not to revolt from the Athenians, but were noble men toward the army and the Demos of the Athenians and their allies - - -

(No translation is attempted for lines 11–24)

- - - and to lend 4 talents 2000+ drachmai as the Athenian generals asked, so that they may have this for the war; that they make loans to them from these moneys which belong to Neapolis from her harbour, recording the generals at Thasos each year as having received them from them until they be completely repaid; that they follow this procedure so long as their war against the Thasians lasts. What the Neopolitans from Thrace now give they have given willingly and voluntarily to the hellenotamiai—5 talents, 4800 drachmai—and they are zealous to do what good they can of their own accord, unsolicited, in word and in deed to the Athenian State, and (be it resolved) that for this benefaction both now and in the future they have gratitude from the Athenians as being noble men and that they have access to the Council and the Demos first after sacred business as being benefactors of the Athenians; that the ambassadors deliver to the secretary of the Council all the memoranda of these (moneys) which the Neopolitans have given, separately those given now and separately the rest; and the secretary of the Council shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it upon the Acropolis at the expense of the Neopolitans; in Neapolis they shall themselves inscribe it on a stone stele and set it in the sanctuary of the Virgin; (be it resolved) to invite the embassy also to entertainment in the prytaneion on the morrow.

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[12] The corrected later version read ‘ because they fought through the war with the Athenians and being besieged by the Thasians and the Peloponnesians ’.

(In the second hand)

To the General Oinobios of Dekeleia: 3 talents, 634 drachmai, 4 obols.

(In the third hand)

Axiochos made the motion: to praise the Neopolitans from Thrace as being noble men toward the army and the State of the Athenians, and because they campaigned against Thasos to join in the siege of it with the Athenians, and because they shared the victory of the naval battle and fought together with them on land the whole time and because in other ways they benefited the Athenians; and because of these benefactions (be it resolved) that they have gratitude from the Athenians as has been voted by the Demos; and in order that they suffer no harm in any way, either from an individual or from a city government, that care be taken of them not only by the generals who hold office in their appointed times but also by the archons of the Athenians who in their appointed times see the Neopolitans protecting *their* city and being zealous to do whatever they command them; and that now they obtain from the Demos of the Athenians whatever may seem good to the Council; but that negotiations with them be conducted in the Assembly about the first-fruit to the Virgin, which even until recently was customarily given to the goddess; that the secretary of the Council make a correction in the earlier decree, and write into it instead of 'the colony of the Thasians' 'because they fought through the war with the Athenians'; to praise the ambassadors

- -as, and P- - - - and - -ophantos for now saying and doing good on behalf of the Athenian Demos and because they are zealous to do what good they can to the army and the State in the future as in the past; and to invite them also to entertainment on the morrow.

(. . .^{7}. . .) made the motion: the rest as resolved by the Council, but that there be dedicated to the Virgin just as before that first-fruit which the Demos of the Neopolitans may vow.

Benjamin D. Meritt
Antony Andrewes

BIG GREEK MINUSCULE, PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS. 310

(PLATES 24–25)

Nothing Greek is alien to Alan Wace; a handsome Byzantine manuscript is one of the latest productions of Greek skill, and a study of one belonging to Pembroke College seems peculiarly in place. Wace came up in 1898 when I was in Russia, but we made good friends when I got home in 1899; we called each other 'Godbrother', having discovered a common godfather who had neglected us equally. Great was my delight when in 1902 he got distinction in Classical Archaeology, and yet greater when he gained his first Fellowship that made possible his distinguished future career.

In 1924 there caught my eye in Mr. P. W. Barnard's book catalogue what appeared to be a handsome Greek MS. at a reasonable price. I thought I should like to be able to show in our library a piece of good Greek writing as we had no suitable specimen, so I bought it with the help of a few friends, but it was some time before I realised that it was a rarity. It was classed as an *Evangelistarium*, very imperfect, in poor condition, and would be quite ordinary but for the impressive minuscule in which its text is written; this puts it into a class with, as far as I can learn, only one companion (but see *Addendum* at the end, p. 218). If it were an uncial it would be one of a fairly common group, to name but Brit. Mus. Harl. 5598[1] A.D. 995; Add. 39602, formerly Parham, Greek, 18[2] and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McLean MS. 1. of the x or xi century.[3]

Vellum, 12 × $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. (30·7 × 22 cm.) double columns of twelve lines. PLATE 24 shews the whole of ε̄ vi^{R} [4] reduced to $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (*i.e.* $\frac{5}{7}$) to shew the general lay-out of the page and its handsome margins all round. PLATE 25 gives only the two columns of ε̄ viii^{R} and the margins on each side, but this is absolutely full size.

Collation: ᾱ^{8} (wants 1), β̄^{8}—ϛ̄^{8}, ζ̄^{9}, η̄^{8}, (θ̄ wanting), ῑ^{8}—ιᾱ^{8}, ιβ̄^{8} (wants 1, 3–6, 8), (ιγ̄—ιη̄ wanting), ιθ̄ (wants 2 and 7, 3 and 5 not conjugate): so out of nineteen quires = one hundred and fifty-three leaves we have eighty-eight. The quires are of course put together with the flesh side outside:

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[1] *Pal. Soc.* I 26, 27.

[2] *Pal. Soc.* I 154.

[3] See *Catalogue*, by M. R. James, Cambridge, 1912.

[4] I quote any page not by its number among the leaves that chance has preserved, but by the signature of its quire and its place therein.

the ruling is with a hard point on the hair side. Each quire is numbered with an uncial (except ᾱ and ξ = ζ̄) at the right-hand bottom corner of the first page.

The lines of writing hang from rulings 14 mm. apart; the top edge is 7 cm. from the ruling, the bottom edge 8 cm. from the writing, the outer margin extends 5·5 cm. from the ruling, the inner margin 3 cm., each column is 5·7 cm. wide, between them is 2·5 cm., so the two columns together make the *Schriftspiegel* 15·5 × 13·8 cm. Immediately outside the *Schriftspiegel* on the sides, and 2 cm. above and below it, there is a kind of 'Oxford frame' made of two rules 1 cm. apart. This would be a help in placing the big capitals, the top-headings (see PLATE 24) and the quire numbers. There is another vertical 2 cm. beyond this in the outer margin. There is nothing really like this ruling in the Lakes' ten volumes:[5] nearest come II 8 a (No. 308) and II 25 (No. 118) both xii cent. Gospels.

The edges of the leaves appear to have been stained red. There were four strings to hold the quires together, not I think vellum bands as in our MSS. Some red silk head- and tail-bands have been preserved. All is enclosed in a leather wrapper which appears once to have covered boards: it is marked by fillets parallel to the margins and by diagonals. How old is this wrapper I do not know, nor whether it really belongs; a book of this splendour must have once had a more worthy covering.

The first leaf is missing, somebody must have 'secured' it, somebody like Porphyriy Uspenskiy, who used to write '*Hic deest unum folium*', when he had made the gap himself. No doubt this leaf bore a splendid enrichment, perhaps like the many-coloured arched figure surmounted with a vase flanked by peacocks still left in McClean 1 (the golden heading to the Easter Gospel is fitted in under the arch), or that of the Gregory in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[6] Another design would be a kind of rectangular carpet flanked with stylised buds or leaves, the Easter heading being in a reserved panel or below the carpet as in Harley 5598, or the Ostromir Gospels.[7]

On the first five pages the writing for the Easter Gospels is in carmine, and the marks indicating the inflexions of the reader's voice are in blue: subsequently these marks are in carmine. The names of the days (in the top margin) and the indications of the Evangelists are in gold as far as Pentecost (ξ i^{R}) inclusive, from the next Sunday (ξ vi^{R} PLATE 24) in carmine. This reads κυριακὴ α′ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων. The gold is gold pigment applied above red.

The inks, both black and red, come out much too dark in the photographs:

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[5] *Dated Greek Minuscule MSS.* Boston, Mass. 1934–1940.

[6] B. de Silvestre, *Paléographie Universelle*, 1839–41, pl. 83.

[7] Ed. Savrinkov, Petersburg, 1894.

in PLATE 25 l. 1 the first word κληρο looks uniformly black, but is really black only in the terminal blobs or serifs, the ρ is quite a light brown, is it perhaps sepia? The same applies to the carmine, which is quite unlike vermilion or, of course, our red ink. The Lakes, *Dated Gk. Minuscule MSS.*, Index Vol., § 'Decoration', make carmine a sign of Eastern work, especially Constantinopolitan. The vellum, now much stained by damp, must have been beautifully white, especially on the flesh side.

In the margin opposite the beginning of each lection is an ornamental letter 4 to 5 cm. high, a few merely in gold; mostly (as on PLATES 24 and 25) a letter has its main lines, as it were its skeleton, in gold filled in with red, pink, blue, green, and yellow: white or yellow touches upon the colours suggest modelling rather like the high lights in icon-painting, whereas the white lines that diversify colours in western miniatures are as it were flat, just patterns. These big letters are seven ϵ, one θ, one ο and sixteen ⲧ: the many ϵ and ⲧ are due to the stereotyped formulae introducing each lection: most common are εἶπεν ὁ κύριος and τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ.[8]

On X̄ vii^v there is a better ⲧ than that shewn on PLATE 25. In five cases surviving an important date is emphasised by a cross-band, on PLATE 25 this is a golden[9] twist, the other dates are S. Thomas, Presentation of Our Lady, Christmas Eve and the First Sunday in Lent. The gold twist marks the beginning of the Menology (see below), the rubric reads ⁎ Μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίω α′· ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰνδίκτου καὶ μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ στυλίτου· εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν (iv. 16). The ordinary year began with September and the lesson tells how Our Lord quoted Isaiah, κηρῦξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν.[10]

The main interest of the MS. is the magnificent minuscule hand, but before dealing with this I think I ought to say something of the contents of the book.

An Evangelistarium is the book of lections (τμήματα, περικοπαί) from the Gospels arranged not as the four Evangelists wrote, but as the Greek Church reads them in the course of the year. This implies two series, one (often called συναξάριον) for the movable days ultimately dependent on Easter. Full *Synaxaria* give lections for all the weekdays, others only those for Saturdays and Sundays, all Easter Week and a few special days. The other series, called μηνολόγιον, is for the fixed days from 1 September to 31 August; the selection varies very much. The order of the various divisions of the *Synaxarion* usually follows the year from Easter to Holy Week, and then comes the Menology: we find this set out in Scrivener-Miller, I. 80, in James's treatment of McLean 1, in Camb. Univ. L. Dd. viii 23. But I have come to think that one should not class our MS. as an Evangelistarium, but rather that the core of it is the Menology which extended from the end of quire ε̃ to the beginning of quire ιϑ̃. Prefixed to this in quires α̃ to ε̃ came Easter, Easter Week, Antipascha (Low Sunday), μεσοπεντηκόστη (Wednesday three and a half weeks after Easter), Ascension Day, Pentecost and the Sunday after it called All SS. Sunday. How much came after the Menology we cannot say; we have but the first Saturday and Sunday in Lent and then a jump to the Eve of Palm Sunday called the Saturday of Lazarus beginning a very long gospel which must have taken up nearly all quire κ̃. Probably our MS. only contained some or all of the lections for Holy Week services and entirely omitted the duller Sundays and the weekdays of the year.

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[8] In the matter of Lectionaries and such like I received much help from Professor E. C. Ratcliff, Canon of Ely, from Father George Every, S.S.M., the Reverend D. I. Chitty and Father Gervase Mathew, O.P. The books are: Scrivener-Miller, *Introd. to Crit. of N.T.*⁴, 1884; C. A. Gregory *Canon and Text of the N.T.*, 1907, 364–390, and especially, E. C. Colwall and D. W. Riddle, *Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, Chicago, 1933.

[9] On the plates I have gone over the gold with white ink as it came out absolutely black in a photograph. But even so the plates give a very poor idea of the real effect.

[10] See the lovely picture from the *Menologium Basilii*, in Cavalieri-Lietzmann, 21.

If quires α̃ to κ̃ were complete, about 161 ff., they would answer to 65 ff. of McLean 1, that is about a quarter of the matter in that MS. allowing two and a half of our pages to one page in McLean. As it is we have hardly more than one-eighth. But the original 104 ff. of our Menology corresponds very well to the 42 ff. that would result if its defective Menology were proportionately supplemented. The lections for Holy Week are of course very long, and it is impossible to say how much of them was contained in our MS. and to make some estimate of its original thickness.

The main interest of the book is in the magnificent minuscule hand in which it is written. Comparing the size of hands is not quite straightforward. We are taught that capitals are contained between two limiting parallels, uncials are mostly so, though a few letters are ascenders or descenders, but that to regulate minuscules four parallels are needed, two, inner, limiting the height of the body of a normal letter, two outer to confine the ends of ascenders and descenders. Actually such regularity is not attained even in such a stiff and exact hand as that of Plato Clarkianus, a δ seems taller than an h and this than a φ, so a χ or φ reaches down further than a γ or a μ.

In comparing size of minuscule we must put like beside like, the most comparable measure being the distance between the inner parallels, if it can be established. If we take the hand of our MS. we can measure from the line from which the letters mostly hang; those which hang least distance seem to be minuscule ο, ϖ, occasionally σ and ∞, but a fairly straight lower line limits the minuscules αuhιυ and the bodies of ϭκμυφ, also the uncial forms ΔΗϺΠ. So we get the interval between the inner parallels as 5 mm., the normal uncial forms ϵΙΝϹΤ are just a little bigger, about 6 mm. I may note that all the uncial forms except ⲁ are used in the text and that κ and ψ have replaced the minuscule forms. On PLATE 25, which is of the exact size, col. a, ll. 2, 5, 6, col. b, ll. 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 offer fairly continuous lower parallels; PLATE 24 shews several in which the 5-mm. measure would come out easily but for the reduction. This I take to be the true measure of the script, and in comparing it with other minuscule scripts I use in them the same elements. Outside these inner lines exaggerated uncial forms for θλξκτοϲφψ reach 10 mm.: minuscule ligatures containing ε (γε, εξ, ει), being both ascenders and descenders, attain 15 or even 17 mm.; yet wild as some of them look at first sight they are curiously consistent in size. But these we can disregard and see whether we can find other MSS. with the parallels 5 mm. or more apart.

In all these years since I bought the MS. I have only found one comparable MS. (but see *Addendum*). Naturally I do not count superscriptions, monocondylia and colophons. No other MS. passes 4 mm., and the difference between 5 mm. and 4 mm. seems rather of kind than of degree. Looking through the ten fascicules of the Lakes' *Dated Greek Minuscule MSS.* I found nothing to set beside it. No. 10, Pl. 17–18, Jerusalem, Holy Cross 43, A.D. 1122, has writing just under 5 mm. but it is only in colophons; No. 348, Berlin 287, A.D. 1193, is just under 4 mm. Both are Gospel books. I could find nothing in Sobolevskiy and Ts'ereteli's plates of MSS. at Moscow and Petersburg nor in Graux's *MSS. Grecs de l'Espagne.* There is nothing in Cambridge; as to Oxford I consulted Mr. Lobel of Queen's; he in vain asked Mr. T. W. Allen, who, I suppose, knew more of Greek MSS. than any Englishman, and Professor Maas, who could name nothing really as big at Berlin. Mr. Lobel pointed to a Lectionary in the Bodleian, MS. Rawl. Auct. G. 2 (Coxe, Pt. i 706, Codd. Misc. 140), but apparently it does not surpass 4 mm. Nor could Professor Francis Wormald or Mr. T. C. Skeat at the British Museum find anything analogous. In answer to my questions Monsieur Charles Astruc at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and Monsignor Robert Devreesse, Vice-Prefect of the Vatican Library, sent similar answers. To all those helpers I return the warmest thanks for the interest they took in my enquiries.

There is, of course, one famous example of very large minuscule, the papyrus letter from a Byzantine Emperor to a Frankish ῥῆξ, published by Montfaucon, *Pal. Graeca*, p. 266, and often since. The inner lines are 1 cm. high, the writing 6 mm. apart, and the letters project ever so far into this space. But this is a document, not a book and is not really comparable.

The one analogue is what is described as an Evangelistarium in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence, No. 244.[11]

All I have to go on is one page as reproduced full size and in colour by Silvestre. It has 119 leaves, measuring $13\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32·5 × 26·8 cm.); *Schriftspiegel* 20·5 × 18 cm. Two columns of ten lines. The lines of writing hang from rulings (presumably, for they do not appear in the plate) 22 mm. apart: the inner parallels are 6 or 7 mm. apart. Each line is 7·5 cm. long, so the general dimensions are one and a half times those of MS. Pemb. It is, of course, a much finer sight, *e.g.* all the lettering is in gold, also the breathings, accents, and expression marks.

In the margin above the left-hand column is in uncials 11 mm. high τῆ ἁγία κυριακῆ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς much abbreviated. Below this a very pretty strip-ornament 8 × 2·5 cm. on a gold ground: within a gold and red tressure the typical Byzantine flower-buds with their stalks curled round them; colours, yellow, red, two blues, green and with white lines. Below this ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην in more ornamental uncials, the T 3 cm. high. Then begins the text; in the margin a great T 6 cm. and more high and 3·5 cm. wide with a gold skeleton like our capitals and similar polychromy. Two inscriptions at the end tell us, one, that the MS. was sent from Constantinople and dedicated in the Church of Our Lady Χρυσοκέφαλος at Trapezus by Michael Callicrinites, Gentleman of the Imperial Bedchamber; the other, that this was in the time of Andronicus Comnenus (1183–85) and of the Metropolitan Barnabas (not otherwise known), and that the codex was splendidly adorned with gold and silver by the Emperor's Physician θεραπευτὴς Χοτζᾶ Λουλοῦ in the year 1331. This gives the date of writing as before the late xii century but I am not quite happy about the dating. Hodja Lula (or Lules) must have been of Musulman extraction: medicine was at a higher level in Islam. The gold and silver adornment must surely refer to the binding or box, not, as Silvestre seemed to think, to the pictures on gold grounds. Of these there were originally five, St. John at the beginning, Our Lord reading Isaiah before September 1, St. Matthew just before Christmas, St. Mark before τὰ φῶτα (Epiphany), St. Luke before St. John the Baptist's day. Dr. James supposes that McLean 1 had pictures in similar places, as suggested by the gaps made when they were torn out.

In content as well as in appearance this book is singularly like ours: it has most of the same feasts up to Pentecost and then a similar Menology, but nothing after that. Like ours I would rather class it as a Menology than really as an Evangelistarium. In ours the gold writing is present, but only just, in the Florentine book it goes right through. Ours has no decorative uncial, and, as far as we can judge, no pictures. The decorative initial capitals seem similar. Our book is, as it were, a poor relation but really akin.

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[11] See Aug. Mar. Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina-Laurentiana* III, Florentiae, 1793, col. 488–501, 'De duobus Evangeliariis Graecis sub numero ccxliii et ccxliv descriptis.' A page was reproduced in J. B. de Silvestre, *Paléographie Universelle*, Paris, 1839–41, pl. 80: he wrongly calls the MS. No. 163; the English edition, ed. F. Madden, London, 1850, I 212–214 has summarised Bandini much better than did Silvestre. The plate occurs also in an album selected from the great work, but where this was published does not appear. Gregory and Scrivener-Miller assign to the book the no. Evst. 117.

The later history of the Florentine book is quite curious. Prefixed to the original is an elaborate Italianate picture and a long screed in contorted Latin. These were inserted by a *Graeculus esuriens* Alexis Caeladonius, into whose hands it fell in the early xvi century. He was a protégé of Bessarion and made Bishop of Melfi in the Basilicata in 1508. The picture shews him presenting the book to Julius II, the letter gives reasons why he should be translated from his poor see and made a Cardinal. He complains that *Senatus Ecclesiae Britannis et Pannonibus, Hispanis et Germanis et Gallis et aliis exteris nationibus ne dicam barbaris patet*, but not to Greeks. He laments the disappearance of the splendid exterior and says he has replaced it as well as he can afford. But Julius died in 1513 and Caeladonius, still Bishop of Melfi, in 1517. Next it is found with another splendidly bound Evangelistarium in the Palazzo Publico at Florence; from here, stripped of their bindings, both were transferred shortly before 1793 to become Nos. ccxliii and ccxliv of the Leopoldina-Laurentiana as it was then called.

The general resemblance of Laur. 244 and Pemb. 310 makes me ascribe the latter to Constantinople, and I have definite reason in one entry in its text. The first entry in the Menology, that for September 1, has two parts. The rubric of the former is shewn on PLATE 25: that of the latter, on the following page, runs ἐν δὲ τοῖς χαλκοπρατείοις ἀναγινώσκεται τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν (i. 39–45, 56, the account of the visitation of Our Lady to Elizabeth). In C.U. Lib. Dd. viii. 25 (accepted as Constantinopolitan) on f. 173, under September 1, stands γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἡ σύναξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις ὑπὲρ Μιασηνῶν. This is a very special celebration. Father Gervase Mathew, O.P., tells me that the Χαλκοπρατεῖα is the area close to Haghia Sophia which gave its name to the church built by the Empress Pulcheria and restored by Justinian II. It was later to house the Virgin's Girdle brought from Zela. There were two feasts of the Girdle, one of its deposition in the church in Chalcoprateia, celebrated on August 31 by the whole Orthodox Church, and another Θεοτόκος τῶν Μιασηνῶν on September 1, peculiar to Chalcoprateia, certainly a very local affair.[12] On this question that great authority C. R. Gregory[13] says that many MSS. have this entry, not only those written for Constantinople, but also some copied from Constantinople MSS. as giving the normal model or the easiest text to get, *e.g.* Evl. 384, 393, 396, 402, 412, 419 and 994, but he says of every one of these, except the last, that it was written for Constantinople: which I think supports my view of the matter. The word Chalcoprateia makes one think of Alexander the Coppersmith; perhaps his successors made crosses at Constantinople, when Diana was no longer so great as to encourage the statuette trade.

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[12] See Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, *s.v.* 'Τιμία Ζώνη' and 'Χαλκοπρατεῖα'.

[13] *Textkritik des N.T.* I. Leipzig, 1900, 365, 31.

I must not hide the fact that those great authorities His Eminence Cardinal Mercati, Monsignor Devreesse, and Dr. Gianelli suggest that the MS. comes from the Isles of the Archipelago. Monsignor Devreesse also writes, on second thoughts, based not on my hand-copy but on a photograph, '*Nul doute, à mon avis que nous sommes devant une imitation; le ductus, l'affleurement* (= overrunning) *des lettres au dessous de la réglure ne permettent pas de remonter au-delà du XIII*^e *siècle*'. I wonder if the same thing applies to Laur. 244; the inscription that is supposed to give the date is of the fourteenth century and anything but clear. This would mean that these two MSS. were similar attempts to attain the magnificence of the late Uncials, when that style of writing had become extinct for texts, and that a copy of the great initial capitals was produced good enough to make me wish to put the whole thing into the xi century. Quality alone can hardly decide place, when we consider that such a splendid MS. as Ostromir's Gospel was produced in distant Novgorod.

As to the more recent home of our MS. we have no direct information: the man who brought it to Britain died without telling its source to the firm from which Mr. Barnard obtained it. But there is good reason to suppose that it came from some monastery in Palestine or perhaps Egypt. Proof of this is afforded by three notes in the margin written in Arabic.

Δ̃ viii^{v}. الاحد السادس من القيانة

Al-Aḥad al-sādis min al-Qiyāna = The Sixth Sunday after the Resurrection.

ζ̃ iii^{R}. العنصرة

Al-ʻAnṣara = Pentecost.

ζ̃ vi^{R} (PLATE 24). الاحد الاوّل بعد العنصرة

Al-Aḥad al-awwal baʻd al-ʻAnṣara = The First Sunday after Pentecost.

I am most grateful to my old pupil and friend, Dr. A. J. Arberry, Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic, for this interpretation. He assures me that the hand is similar to that found in Syrian Christian Arabic MSS. The odd thing is that the first note is wrong, it is opposite the lection for

Ascension Day, and there is no entry for the Sunday after, any more than for the other Sundays between Low Sunday and Pentecost. The other notes are correct.

A desert monastery is suggested by the sand and dead insects I found in the inner folds of the leaves, and it is hard not to think of Saint Sabas.

Perhaps a MS. so remarkable, so nearly unique, is scarcely in place in one of our smaller College Libraries: it is not as if, like half our Pembroke MSS., it had been used by our predecessors before the Reformation, or, like another hundred of them, were part of a block that came in from a neighbouring monastery, in our case Bury St. Edmunds, soon after the dissolution and has been treasured ever since. The individually interesting MSS. in a College Library have mostly come in rather by chance, they would perhaps be more accessible to students in one of the great collections, but in more intimate ownership they may arouse the interest of young people who are a little shy of the more imposing institutions. Charterhouse Library started me on Latin Palaeography. Perhaps this may enlist for us the man who shall succeed Montfaucon and Gardthausen.

Ellis H. Minns

Addendum

After I had sent in my MS., I received from Dr. R. P. Casey *New Testament MS. Studies*, ed. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1950. In this, on pp. 150–74, is a study by Professor Kurt Weitzmann of Princeton on ‘ Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations ’; ten plates come from Athos, Dionysiou, 740, xi. c., evidently a MS. with minuscules as big as ours. Professor Weitzmann has been good enough to give me full particulars and send another photograph. The MS. measures 39·6 × 29·5 cm., with two columns 8–9 cm. wide and letters about 5 mm. high, much the same as ours; his pl. xxi is about 1/1 and pl. xx. i enlarged, which makes me doubtful. He adds that Dionysiou 740 is ‘ undoubtedly one of the most beautiful Greek MSS. I ever had in my hands.’ I well believe it, with its many exquisite Gospel scenes, and a figure incorporated in each great capital. But the text-writing seems to me to be just like ours. The MS. is not in the catalogue by Lambros; in his time it was still, where it ought to be, on the altar.

Professor Weitzmann also sent me a photograph of a MS. in Moscow Historical Museum, Usp. 1163: page 30 × 22 cm., width of columns 7 cm., lines 2 cm. apart, height of letters apparently 7 mm. like the Florence MS. No figure work, it would seem, but ‘ carpet ’ headings like the Harley Gospels.

So our MS. turns out to be not quite so remarkable as I thought.

A PROPOS OF A GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM HERMOPOLIS MAGNA

In honour of Professor Alan Wace, who has spent some fifty fruitful years in Greco-Roman archæology, I dedicate this paper. During that epoch his efforts in this sphere have been widespread. He has unearthed many finds and various archæological data of the utmost importance in Greece, particularly at Mycenae, and in Egypt both in Alexandria and Hermopolis Magna. By his discoveries and contributions, which have been recognised as worthy of highest esteem, he has shed much interesting light on various aspects of life in the Graeco-Roman world. As an ex-colleague in the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University, I have been in close touch with him during the last seven years and he has always shown himself to be an indispensable source of information and a scholar of wide learning.

When I was asked to collaborate in this volume of the *Annual* of the British School at Athens, I greatly welcomed the idea and felt the occasion could not be better suited than by choosing for publication a stele that was recently transported from the site of Hermopolis Magna, where it was discovered several years ago by the German expedition. It seemed to me an adequate and appropriate subject for a study to be presented on this occasion.

Hermopolis Magna, the provenance of this stele, was the capital of an important and central district (nome) where the worship of Hermes and other dieties (Djihouti = Thoth – Mercury) was practised.[1] Its site in Upper Egypt lies in the outskirts of Markaz Mallawi (Assiut). Owing to its geographical position it was a central meeting place where various currents of civilisation converged. It soon became a melting-pot of both Pharaonic and Greek cultures and the *lieu* where were set up the temples for Greek as well as Egyptian deities either in two strata one above the other or even side by side. The visitor to the remains of the ancient site will be struck by this strange aspect of so many scattered temples belonging to two civilisations and to so different deities, yet clustering so closely together. Some of these temples have been discovered during the last two decades and are still in a very good state of preservation. Parts of these temples tower to a considerable height with walls intact all round; some date from the epoch of Akhnaton, others from Ramses II or from the reign of Nero or even later. There are sacred places of different deities, a gymnasium that used to be decorated with porticoes and inside which were found the Thermae of Hadrian, and also what has always been supposed to be an agora with the main street leading to it from east to west,[2] but is now proved to be a basilica with porticoes. All these cover an extensive area of this ancient metropolis. The German expedition unearthed quite a big area of this site and published its results in successive reports submitted by Roeder and his colleagues.[3] These German scholars co-operated to form by their contributions a descriptive study of their finds, and appended to their work illustrations of the varied materials which they came across during their successive seasons of digging.

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[1] H. Brugsch, *La Géographie des Nomes*, 1879, 1.

The work of this expedition has been resumed since 1944 by the Archaeological Department of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University. Thanks to the concerted efforts of Professor Alan Wace and his colleagues: Professor Abdel-Monein Abou Bakr, an eminent Egyptologist, Professor Moharam Kamal, keeper of the Cairo Museum, and the late Rizkalla Makramalla of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University, a great deal of good work in actual excavations has been done particularly where the basilica lies. The results of their work, when duly published, will prove that finds of the utmost importance were made. The ancient history of this site during the Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman periods has much benefited by these discoveries.

Hermopolis maintained its importance during the Islamic era. Professor Adolf Grohmann has shed some light on certain aspects of this metropolis: its topographical divisions, its main streets, and its manufacturing and mercantile life as depicted in the Arabic papyri.[4] He pointed out that it was owing to its central position that its importance was preserved during the second, third and fourth centuries of the Hegira (Moslim era). Its importance arose from its position as a frontier district, and its fame for some manufactures and brisk commerce can be observed in the frequent references to it in the Arabic papyri during the second and third centuries of the Hegira.

The present publication owes its origin to this site at which a small limestone stele lay for some time, forming part of the collection of finds made by the German expedition. It was found in two broken pieces, rather mutilated and badly damaged on the edges but fitting together perfectly when restored, and thus revealing this fragmentary Greek inscription. The irregularity of the shape of the stone in its present condition is due to the fact that it is badly damaged on the surface of three sides: top, bottom, and right. Only the left edge is even. The measurements of the stone taken at various points are: total length 36·5 cm., out of which 32·5 cm. retain the original surface; height on the left edge 31·5 cm.; in the middle 16 cm. and on the right edge 9·5 cm.; the thickness is irregular and measures at the widest point 14 cm. The average height of letters is 12 mm. It has been given the inventory number 1304 in the 'Journal d'entrée' of the Museum of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University.

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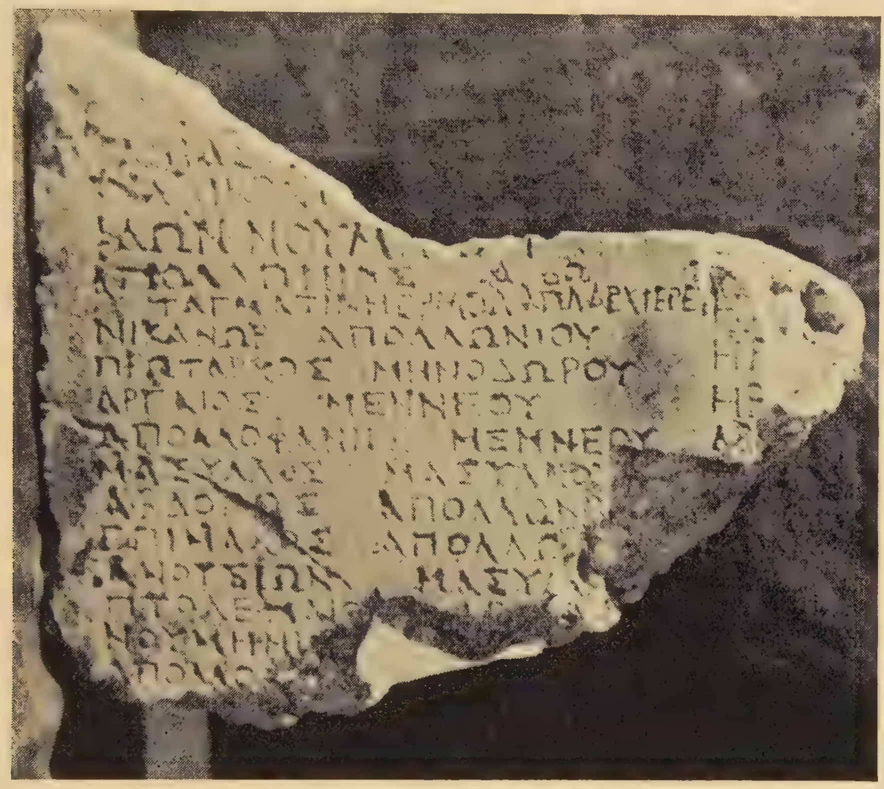
[2] Schmitz, 'Zur Topographie von Hermopolis Magna in den griechischen Urkunden', *Mitteilungen für äg. Altertumskunde*, Cairo, II (1932), 89; Méautis, *Hermopolis-La-Grande*, 1918, 50. Méautis devotes Chapter Two of his monograph to the topography of this metropolis with special reference to ancient authors, 42–55; Moharam Kamal, *Annales* XLVI, 'Excavations in the so-called "Agora" of Hermopolis', 289–295.

[3] *Vorläufiger Bericht über die deutsche Hermopolis-Expedition*: Roeder, Balcz, Bittel, Hermann, Kortenbeutel, Steckeweh, Werner, 1929–1935.

[4] Adolph Grohmann, 'Contributions to the Topography of Al-Ashmunein from Arabic Papyri', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXI, Session 1938–1939, 211–214.



Museum of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University, Alexandria Inv. No. 1304.

The inscription runs in two columns, the second of which is practically all broken away, leaving at most only two letters at the beginning of the remaining lines. The condition in which the stele was found makes the task of arriving at the real object of its erection conjectural and even hazardous. One can hardly discern how many columns there were originally on this stele, how long each of them was, how many more names and titles figured thereon, and whether there was some dedicatory or votive formula bearing some definite clue to its correct dating. One is left with the bare minimum of information and is reduced therefore to seeking inferences in the hope of constructing some feasible hypothesis.

The formation of the letters gives the general impression that the text was on the whole carefully written out. The system of lettering reveals a good attempt at calligraphy on the part of the stone cutter who produced the inscription. The *alpha* is throughout representative of the early type with a V-shaped cross bar. The *mu* and *nu* are well written on the whole. The *pi* (Π) shows some contrast with the later Ptolemaic or even Roman form (ᒥ), where the second perpendicular stroke does not come down as low as in the earlier Ptolemaic types.

The inscription reads as follows:

Column I.

Δ]ιοκλ̣[ῆς
Φανίας̣ Τ̣[
Καλλικράτ[ης
Φάων Νουμη̣[ν]ί̣ο̣υ̣
5 Ἀπολλώνιος [
Ταγματικὴ Ἑρμολ$^{\alpha}$ Ἀπλ$^{o\omega}$ ἀρχιερεύ^{s}
Νικάνωρ Ἀπολλωνίου
Πρώταρχος Μηνοδώρου
Ἀργαῖος Μεννέου
10 Ἀπολλοφάνης Μεννέο̣ῢ̣
Μάσυλλος Μασύλλου̣
Ἀβδόκως Ἀπολλων[ίου]
Ἐπίμαχο̣ς Ἀπολλω̣[νίου]
Ἀνουσίων Μασύλ[λου]
15 Πτολεμαῖο̣[ς] Δ̣ρ̣]
Νουμήνιο̣[ς
Ἀπολλόδ̣[ωρος *or* οτος

Column II.

Ω̣[
Η[
ΗΡ̣[
ΗΡ[
5 ΑΒ[

Textual Notes.

Column I.

Line 1. The *lambda* of Diokles is fairly certain.

Line 2. After Phanias there is just the lower part of a stroke which might be taken for a *tau* or some other letter beginning his father's name.

Line 3. Kallikrates has the upper part of the *tau* chipped off as a result of the break at the upper edge.

Line 4. Noumenios, the father of Phaon, is a sure restoration. Apart from the second *ν* which was effaced without any trace left, the last three letters ιου denoting the genitive form can be identified by their lower ends which are visible.

Line 6. In this line, which bears a title introducing a group of army men enrolled as οἱ ταγματικοί, the stonecutter found some difficulty in spacing out his letters. He realised that he had no room, and therefore resorted to the device of abbreviating the name Hermolaos and the father's name Apollonios. When he came to the last word at the end of this line, he was faced with the same difficulty of lack of space, and could not produce his usual full-size letters, properly spaced. He resorted to the expedient of completing the word ἀρχιερεύς by superimposing the last letter (σ) on the *upsilon*.

Line 12. The name Ἀβδόκως is quite readable, except that the *kappa* is partly effaced owing to the fact that it happens to come where the line of the break runs.

Line 13. In the name Ἐπίμαχος the *chi* is slightly defaced on account of the break in the stone.

Line 15. After Ptolemaios there are just the top parts of two letters which might be taken for Δρ. It would be mere wild guessing to attempt to divine what this name was. Several names beginning with Δρ might be suggested, such as Δράκων, Δροῦσος, Δρύτων, Δρόμιτος, Δρομάρης or some such compounds.

Line 17. The name is probably Απολλόδοτος or Απολλόδωρος. The *delta* is fairly certain though only the top part of it remains. This name was probably followed by its patronymic.

Column II.

Line 1. Hardly anything remains except a very doubtful *omega* of which the top part is broken. There is just the possibility of one letter before the *omega*.

Line 2. After the *eta* the surface of the stone is chipped off, leaving traces of the bottom part of the second letter which might be a *kappa* or a *rho*.

Line 3. After Ηρ there is just the stroke of the *alpha*, and one might restore some such name as Ἡρακλείδης.

Line 5. The second letter after the *alpha*, which is fairly certain, is *beta*.

Commentary.

The striking feature about this inscription is that it contains a great variety of Greek personal names, some of which are merely grecised such as Abdokōs. The great majority of the names are good Greek names of the classical period such as Diokles, Phanias, Kallikrates, Apollonios, Hermolaos, Nikanor, Protarchos, Menodoros, Argaios, Apollophanes, Ptolemaios, and Herakleides (?). The occurrence of such a group of names, where the overwhelming majority are Greeks stationed in the midst of Upper Egypt, is indicative of an early time in the Greek occupation of Egypt, when Greeks from various corners of the eastern Mediterranean flocked to the country. This aspect can be taken as a guide by which one can be helped in determining the date of this inscription. For this reason, coupled with epigraphical evidence concerning the formation of the individual letters and with other factors based on the analogy of similar inscriptions, one may be justified in advancing a rather tentative supposition that it may belong to the latter part of the third century or some time in the second century B.C. I do not profess to have any conclusive evidence, but I am guided merely by the epigraphical indications, coupled with the analogy of other texts.

Among the names that appear in this inscription there are some that are worthy of consideration. A certain Phaon, son of Noumenios, occurs in line 4. This is quite a rare name and is given in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, only once, where he figures in *P. Oxy.* III, no. 478, 13, 20, 21, dating from the second century A.D. This particular document reveals an instance where the process of selection of boys known as ἐπίκρισις is regulated. A certain freedwoman of Oxyrhynchos writes declaring that her son called Ptollis, son of Phaon son of Ptollis, was registered in part of the Square of Thoëris. She asks that since her son has reached the age of thirteen he may be placed on the list of privileged persons who pay a poll-tax at a reduced rate amounting to twelve drachmas only. She supports her claim on the grounds of having parents on both sides who were residents in a metropolis. In addition to this single instance where Phaon is mentioned, our inscription gives another example of a certain Phaon son of Noumenios. It is a great pity that we cannot decide anything about his status or his occupation among this group. Probably he figured, with the other names from lines 1–5, under one heading, now unfortunately broken away, detailing their station, or denomination.

We are more fortunate about the name Hermolaos, son of Apollonios, in line 6. He is styled ἀρχιερεύς or high priest—an office of some standing in the hierarchy of officials. Hermolaos is rather a common name. It occurs in *P. Petrie* III, 100 b II, 7 (third century) among landowners and cultivators. The name occurs also in the Zenon Papyri[5] where Hermolaos was being informed by a certain Athenagoras about the presence of King Ptolemy Philadelphos. Hermolaos on another occasion was acting *oikonomos* of the Aphroditopolite nome and was supposed to act on instructions received by Diotimos the *hypodioiketes* in connection with a petition submitted to the latter.[6] Another Hermolaos figures in an account for corn from the Hermopolite nome.[7] In another instance a certain Hermolaos is the son of Triballos[8] son of Ploutarchos. Again Hermolaos occurs in *P. Lond.* III, no. 1159, line 27, p. 112. The priestly office which he occupies in our present instance identifies him further and indicates that he was a person of some quality. He stands in contrast to other high priests who combined in their persons in addition more than one secular office. *P. Merton* no. 11, 2, dating from A.D. 39–40, reveals a case where a certain Gaius Julius Asclas was acting high priest of the emperor Gaius as well as *exegetes* and *strategos* at the same time. His priestly office did not prevent him receiving a petition in his capacity as *strategos* of the Themistes division of the Fayûm. This same person is found elsewhere combining in his person the three offices: high priest, *exegetes*, and *strategos*.[9] Our Hermolaos, son of Apollonios, is singled out among all other names in this inscription by his high priestly office, and he appears, moreover, in a title line, after a word indicating the nature of the work of these persons and their commitments as infantry men in the army.

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[5] *PSI* no. 353, line 2, dating 254–3 B.C.

[6] *P. Zenon*, Edgar, *Annales* XIX, no. 38, 5 (third century B.C.).

[7] *P. Ryl.* II 206, 17 (third century A.D.).

[8] Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 4152, line 1.

Nikanor is another name which deserves some comment. He appears in line 7 of this inscription with Apollonios as his father. He is a typical Macedonian by name. Macedonian as he is, his presence among such a group of Greeks, who were stationed so far up in the Nile Valley, would not be a very common occurrence. A namesake at a much earlier date, *i.e.* 300-271 B.C., occurs in a papyrus text where he is expressly styled Macedonian (Μακεδών), and is implicated in a judicial summons.[10] Our Nikanor son of Apollonios could not be identified with any of his namesakes who occur in various instances.[11] *P. Magdola* no. 28, verso II, dated in the fourth year of Ptolemy Philopator, gives a petition submitted by a woman called Hediste who is the wife of a certain Nikanor. She is expressly styled Macedonian (Μακέτα).[12] Heichelheim includes the name Nikanor in a list of Macedonians who were counted in Ptolemaic Egypt among the foreign elements of the population and formed an upper stratum or rather the élite of all the foreigners.[13]

The name Argaios in line 9 of our inscription reveals the origin of its bearer. He must have belonged originally to Argos in Greece proper or have been descended from some Argive parentage.[14] He is the son of Menneas.

Perhaps the most interesting name of all is Ἀβδόκως, son of Apollonios, who occurs in line 12. He is mentioned in the published texts only twice before. He occurs in an inscription of the same provenience, *i.e.* Hermopolis Magna. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, quotes this single instance and supplements it byincluding this name in an appendix compiled by Professor Littmann from among the Aramaic names, as well as other names, compounded with the Edomitic Qōs, equating it to *'Abd-Qōs i.e.* slave or servant of the bow, which is the symbol of the weather or moon-god.[15] H. Wuthnow refers to the name Abdokōs which exactly corresponds to the form meaning in Arabic *'Abd-Qōs*.[16]

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[9] *P. Ryl.* 149. The plurality of office and the natural sequence places the *strategos* at the top of the three offices indicated above, then the *exegetes* followed by the high priest, and groups secular and priestly functions in one person. In *P. Amh.* 124 the high priest of the Augusti (Σεβαστῶν) is equated with the *exegetes* whereas the high priest of the individual emperors or empresses is classed with the *agoranomos*.

[10] *P. Hib.* 30, line 3.

[11] *P. Lond.* III, no. 604, col. II, line 59; *P. Lond.* II, no. 192; *P. Oxy.* I, 97, VI, 929, VIII, 1153 and XII, 1234.

[12] Lesquier, *P. Magdola*, no. 27, line 1: Ἡδίστη Νικάνορος Μακέτα, *i.e.* Hediste, wife of Nikanor, Macedonian. Lesquier in his note takes Μακέτα to be the feminine form of Μακεδών and refers to Mayser, *Grammatik*, Bd. I, Teil III, 23, line 48.

[13] Heichelheim, *Die auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich*, 95.

[14] The name Argaios occurs in *P. Hib.*, *P. Petrie* III and *P. Lond.* III, 1170, col. 9, line 310. But in none of the instances quoted in these collections can he be identified with our Argaios son of Menneas.

[15] Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Anhang 3, col. 517; Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* I, 4206, col. I, line 50 (date 80–69 B.C. or even later according to Griffith, *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, 132). This particular Abdokōs figures in three long lists arranged in three columns, all of settlers in Hermopolis, who chose to set up an altar. He is the son of a certain Achaios, conjectured to be a transliteration of the Semitic word *Ach* meaning ' brother ' in Greek script with a Greek ending. This inference is supported by M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, II 338, 40 where he takes Achaios as derived from the Semitic word *Ach* and takes Abdokōs to correspond to the two forms '*Abd* and *Qōs*.

The second instance where the same name occurs is in a Liḥyanite inscription published by Jaussen-Savignac.[17] This comes from the Liḥyanite Kingdom which is known to have flourished between the third and second centuries B.C. in northern Hejaz. Names composed of *Qōs* (*Quas*) are commonly considered to be Edomite[18] according to the opinion of Th. Nöldeke, Baethgen, J. Wellhausen, and others, apparently in connection with a statement in Josephus, *Antiquities* X. But it is to be noticed that the Edomite god Κοζε[19] and Κουσει[20] in the Greek version of the Old Testament hardly corresponds to *Qōs*, and that the equation *Qōs* = *Qais*[21] is very precarious. Names compounded with *Qōs-Qais* occur in Liḥyanite inscriptions of el-'Öla in Northern Arabia[22] as well as in Assyrian inscriptions.[23] It is striking that such names frequently occur also in the Greek inscription found in Mit-Rahine in the Memphite nome.[24] These names were exhaustively treated by M. Lidzbarski[25] and identified with their Semitic equivalents. The Liḥyanite inscription found in el-'Öla dates from about the third–second or even fourth–second centuries B.C.,[26] and it is highly probable that the persons bearing the names compounded with *Qōs* and living in Egypt originally came from, or at least were related to, Northern Arabia, which was connected with Egypt by a side-branch of the well-known incense-road. Thus we have in Abdokōs a rare name which has occurred only twice so far in the published texts: (1) on a dedicatory stele from Hermopolis Magna published by Jouguet, Milne, and Preisigke,[27] and (2) in the above-mentioned Liḥyanite inscription.

The present inscription furnishes a third instance, where Abdokōs is the son of Apollonios. It is noteworthy that his father's name represents another 'theopheric' attribute of the god Apollo, once conjectured to be the Sun God. The occurrence of this Abdokōs, son of a Greek father, among such a homogeneous group of purely Greek or Grecised names raises more than one question which calls for an answer. His true identity and mixed parentage, his presence and rôle in such a group of Greeks engaged on some military task either within Hermopolis Magna or in its environs, and finally, the real purpose of the formation of such a group all are questions that need some answer.

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[16] Heinz Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig, 1930, 8, where he quotes M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für sem. Epigraphik*, 338.

[17] *Mission Archéologique en Arabie* II, Paris 1914, 528, no. 363; *cf.* J. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* I, Loven, 1934, 268.

[18] M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* II, 339; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd edition, Berlin 1897, 67; Jaussen-Savignac, *op. cit.* 520.

[19] Cf. *ZDMG* 1887, 714, note 1.

[20] Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 1907, 881.

[21] J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 67; Jaussen-Savignac, *op. cit.*, 520, 630.

[22] For example *Qaus-Malik* = 'Qaus is king'; *Qaus-barr* = 'Qaus is pious' in Jaussen-Savignac, *op. cit.*, nos. 331, 334. Other compounds with Qaus occur: *'Akam-Qaus*, *'Adab-Qaus*, *ibid.*, nos. 265, 143.

[23] J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 67, *Qaus-Gabar*, *Qaus-Malak*.

[24] G. Milne, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Greek Inscriptions*, 35.

[25] M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II 339 f.

[26] *Ibid.*, 369; W. F. Albright, *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* no. 119, 11, note 31.

[27] Jouguet, *BCH* XX 177 ff.; Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, no. 9296 and 25–27; Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, no. 4206; Griffith, *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, 132, note 4, where he takes the people mentioned on this stele to have been engaged on some garrison duty in Hermopolis.

Perhaps the real object of this inscription can be divined from the introductory phrase in line 6 where it has been clearly revealed that the group of names subscribed belonged to some sort of military contingent (τὸ τάγμα)[28] employed as infantry. This conglomeration of men engaged on some military task would come within a class of infantry serving everywhere as οἱ ταγματικοί, probably on garrison duties.[29]

An additional clue to the understanding of the real object of this formation may be furnished by the last word of line 6 where the word ἀρχιερεύς characterises Hermolaos son of Apollonios. The fact that a man functioning as high priest was needed, and that he figured by himself apart from others, indicates that he must have been a person of some importance. It also emphasises the fact that the ritual followed on occasional meetings of these groups included offerings and religious performances, which necessitated the presence of a sacerdotal official to take charge of them. This leads to the tentative assumption that such a group of men, belonging to some legionary detachment, may have formed in the meantime the lay members of a guild of some kind or rather an association (ἡ σύνοδος or τὸ κοινόν).[30] They would be bent on performing a certain worship or indulging in a cult, very likely a royal one, since their meeting necessitated the existence of a high priest instead of one of a lower order.

There is a cult association of Apollo in Hermopolis Magna, where a temple with all its appurtenances was dedicated to Apollo.[31] It seems that the worshippers in this cult, all of whom were most likely Greeks, were in the habit of singing hymns which were considered repugnant to Egyptian custom. As a result of this whimsical notion, a case was put forward calling on the State to interfere in order to suppress the worship and disband the associates. The State always had the supreme right to confiscate the property and to dissolve any association whose members were suspected of infringing the common laws or indulging in illegalities, because such behaviour might be taken to be detrimental to the State.

The tendency to form clubs and associations of all kinds and for all objects was prevalent in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. It was more or less inherent alike among Egyptians and Greeks who were domiciled in Egypt, and this gave rise to a great variety of guild life. San-Nicolo has compiled an extensive study on this topic and has particularly emphasised the judicial status of these associations, their competence, their reciprocal nature and the contractual element in their regulations, together with the obligations of members to these institutions as well as to themselves, and finally the extent of their autonomy *vis-à-vis* the State.[32] Rostovtzeff has made a rather rapid survey of this aspect of Hellenistic Egypt and has pointed out that it was widespread and bound up with the life of the inhabitants.[33] Some of these associations were formed for definite professional or occupational purposes, such as those of farmers, salt merchants, athletes, bankers; others were religious or cultural with a convivial or festive object in view. Some of these secular organisations were formed of members of a low social order, as can be gleaned from the evidence furnished by the records of a village club presumably at Philadelphia in the Fayûm.[34] The common feature in the regulations of these organisations was the wish to achieve mutual benefit and indulge in periodical festivities preceded by performance of sacrifice. Boak has published some interesting texts from Tebtunis, dealing with the ordinances of secular guilds of various denominations in Roman Egypt.[35] He has shown how these synods or *koina* were organised and how the obligations of members towards one another and towards their presidents (προστάτης, ἐπιμελητής or κεφαλαιωτής) [36] were strict, but of a reciprocal nature, even to the extent of being philanthropic at times.[37] It is this reciprocal working of the regulations which impresses one as an integral feature of these bodies, which appear in some measure to come into existence as voluntary associations organised on a yearly basis, renewable by the mutual consent of the members.[38]

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[28] Lesquier, *Institutions Militaires*, 92–93.

[29] *Ibid.*, 93 and 101.

[30] τὸ κοινόν was a common title of an association of fellow farmers (συγγεωργοί) whose assembly might equally be termed σύνοδος. See *Sammelbuch*, no. 7457, 15.

[31] *P. Giss.* 99, dated 80–79 B.C.; Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, II, chapter II, 65–74.

A papyrus text which was assigned [39] to the reign of Ptolemy Auletes has revealed a copy of the regulations for an association of Zeus the Highest (Hypsistos). The students of this text have shed a penetrating light on the whole question of associations, their different forms in Graeco-Roman Egypt, their formation and term of duration, their status, their prototypes and parallels, and their reciprocal obligations. This extensive comparative study has shown how sacrificial ceremonies were a common feature in these Graeco-Roman associations, practised in their meeting-places whether in temple quarters or in their vicinity. Some special accommodation must have been provided for this purpose. In their ceremonial meetings they would call upon some member to act as priest (ἱεροποιός), or find by some means an ordained priest among the members to undertake the charge of making sacrifices and pouring libations. On greater occasions and in more ceremonial circumstances, especially if the occasion were a royal one, a high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) would probably function. It would come under the competence of this high priest to make the necessary arrangements and take the preliminary steps for any religious procedure required. There would be no difficulty in choosing a place for their rites and the following of their activities. The military quarters in which these (οἱ ταγματικοί) were stationed would presumably afford some spacious room for their pursuits.

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[32] M. San-Nicolo, ‘Zur Vereinsgerichtsbarkeit im hellenistischen Ägypten’, *Epitymbion Swoboda*, 1927, 255–300.

[33] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, II, 732–733; W. L. Westermann, ‘Entertainment in villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt’, *JEA* XVIII (1932), 25.

[34] Edgar, ‘Records of a Village Club’, *Raccolta Lumbroso, Aegyptus*, Serie Scientifica III, 369–376.

[35] Boak, *P. Mich.* V, *Papyri from Tebtunis* II, nos. 243, 244 and 245.

[36] M. Norsa, ‘Elezione del κεφαλαιωτής di una corporazione’, *Annali della R. Scuola Normale di Pisa*, 1937, 1–7 (*Archiv.* XIII (1938), 148) and *Papyri Greci delle collezioni Italiane*, fasc. III, 1946, 36–37 = *PSI* no. 1265. This is a case of an association (koinon) probably of bankers where members resorted to charging their president with the task of collecting the χρυσαργύριον on their behalf (date A.D. 426 or 441).

[37] O. Gueraud, ‘Décret d'une Association en l'honneur de son Président’, *Bulletin Soc. Roy. d'Arch. Alex.* X (1939), 21–40. The members of this particular association or synod were expressly designated by the words γεοῦχοι and συγγεωργοί, pertaining to a village and grouped to defend their interests rather than establish a collective responsibility towards the State.

[38] R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* II, 67.

[39] C. Roberts, T. Skeat and A. D. Nock, *Harvard Theological Review* XXIX (1936), 39–88.

The records of a festive club, whose members were recruited from the menial classes in a modest village in the Fayûm, bear testimony to the fact that there needed to be an acting priest (ἱεροποιός) from among these poorer lay members to take charge of sacrificial offerings made at their banquets, though his rôle was merely ceremonial.[40] Moreover, the periodical meetings of these comrades were held in such places as the harness-rooms at the stable or even in the granary. It seems that wine and various amusements such as music and dancing were among the popular items in vogue on such occasions. Westermann dealt *in extenso* with this aspect and pointed out that Egyptians in the Graeco-Roman period were very much addicted to musical entertainments on periodic occasions. Companies residing in the *metropoleis* went on tour and were employed to perform their art in various villages.[41] Presumably the members of these festive clubs had to choose their president, be he an ἐπιμελητής or προστάτης or one bearing some such title, in return for which he would enjoy certain privileges and be endowed with certain exemptions.

Perhaps one might seek some resemblance between the list of names with their patronymics inscribed on this Hermopolis stele under one generic heading of enrolled men, and a list of names which are mostly Egyptian, followed by some regulations for a religious association, occurring on a papyrus text from the Fayûm.[42] In both cases it is merely a question of proper names set down with their patronymics and arranged in groups and columns. In the Fayûm instance, however, they were mostly Egyptians and their object was explicitly revealed in some passages as one of a religious association in which members were very likely grouped for the worship of Suchos. Some rules and regulations which bind these members and control their behaviour are set out on the *verso*, col. II. One would have expected to find in such contexts a priest or even a high priest charged with rather more definite duties. The presence of such officials can always be accounted for. Perhaps one can argue by mere analogy that our Hermolaos son of Apollonios, who was definitely styled high priest on a title line, reveals the existence of a similar function for a military group of men, bound by some such ties and bent on some sacrificial offerings, made occasionally as expression of their devotion to some cult, most likely a royal one of the reigning king.

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[40] Edgar, ‘Records of a Village Club’, *Raccolta Lumbroso*, 1925, 369–376, fragment V.

[41] Westermann, ‘Entertainment in the villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt’, *JEA* XVIII (1932), 16–27.

[42] P. Jouguet, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, 1902, 350–351, and Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 5627.

A close parallel may be found in a Ptolemaic votive stele from Mit-rahineh in the Memphite nome, bearing lists of names arranged in four columns.[43] It is preceded by a preamble which is rather fragmentary but yet makes clear the purposes for which the stele was set up. It stipulates the number of one hundred and seventy persons whose names are indicated beneath and who were connected somehow with a temple or a precinct of Apollo and Zeus and were all grouped in a cult association (τὸ κοινόν) for the worship of these deities. The remarkable feature about this votive stele is that it bears names which are mostly Greek. Several other names are compounds of the Semitic word *Qōs* with other Semitic suffixes such as:

Κοσάδαρος (column I, 8, 25, 26, 35; column II, 29) = *Qōs*-ʻadar = ʻ Qōs arranges (nicely) ʼ.
Κόσβανος (column I, 39): *Qōs-bana* = ʻ Qōs has created ʼ.
Κόσραμος (column II, 9): *Qōs-ram* = ʻ Qōs is sublime ʼ.
Κοσμάλαχος (column I, 43; column II, 19; column III, 18): *Qōs-Malek* = ʻ Qōs is king ʼ.
Κοσνάτανος (column I, 9): *Qōs-natam* = ʻ Qōs has given ʼ.
Κο[σ]γῆρος (column III, 32): *Qōs-ger* = ʻ Qōs is protector ʼ (?).

In this votive stele and its names one may be tempted to find a certain similarity to our Hermopolis inscription.

It would appear, then, from this comparative study that we have in this text a fragment of a stele bearing certain proper names of men enlisted in detachments of the Ptolemaic army, and employed on garrison duties in the upper part of the Nile valley, in central strategical positions such as Hermopolis Magna. A number of them were entered within one class of the army serving as infantry, whereas for the others figuring above them on the stone, any heading which might originally have identified them as a class and thrown further light on the nature of this inscription has now vanished.

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[43] Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, no. 9283, pp. 35–37, dating from the first half of the second century B.C.

Although the conclusions to be drawn from this inscription are of necessity only tentative, yet it seems to me that it furnishes interesting evidence concerning the dispersion of Greek elements in more or less exclusive groups among the population of Egypt, and their communal activities.

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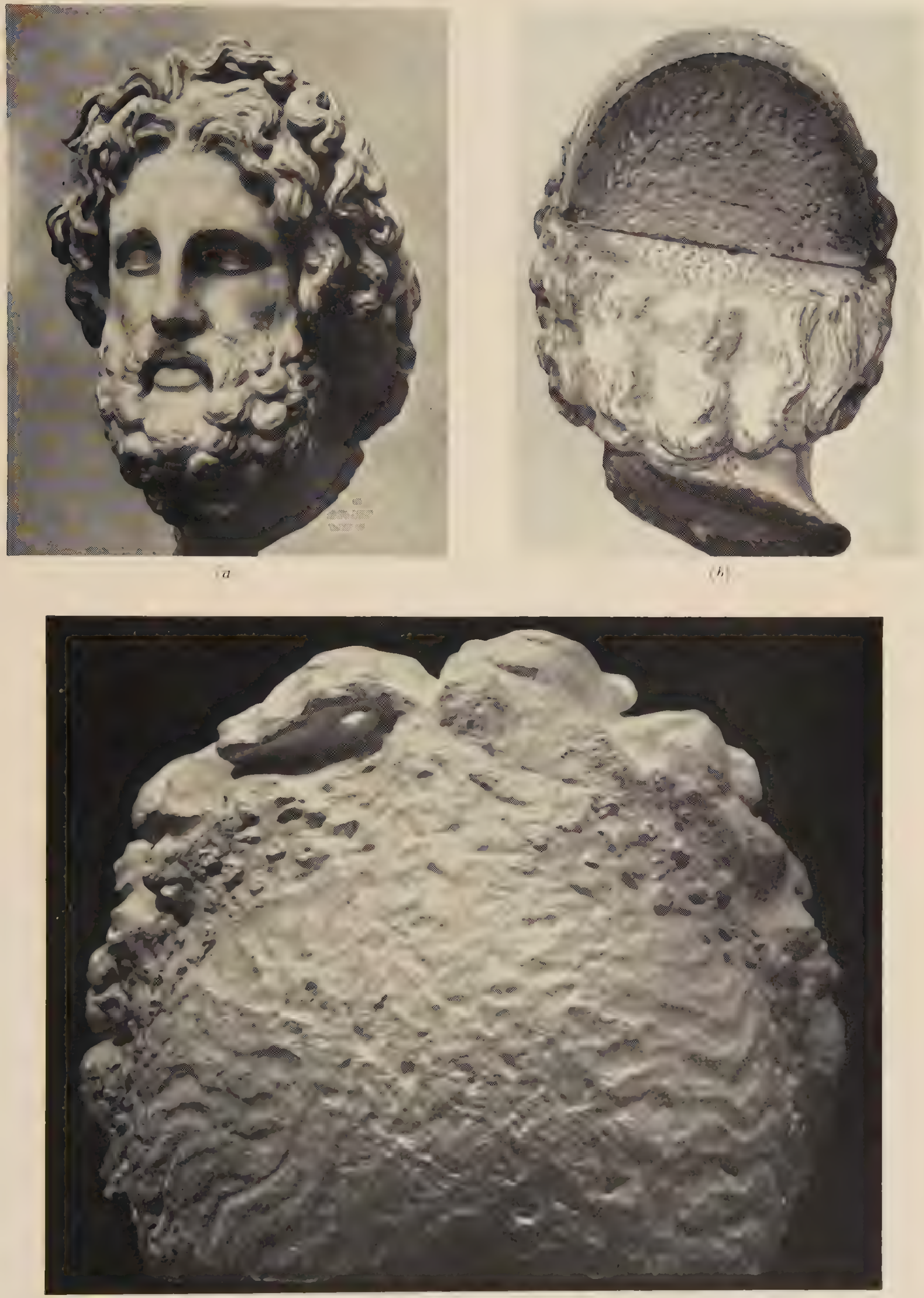
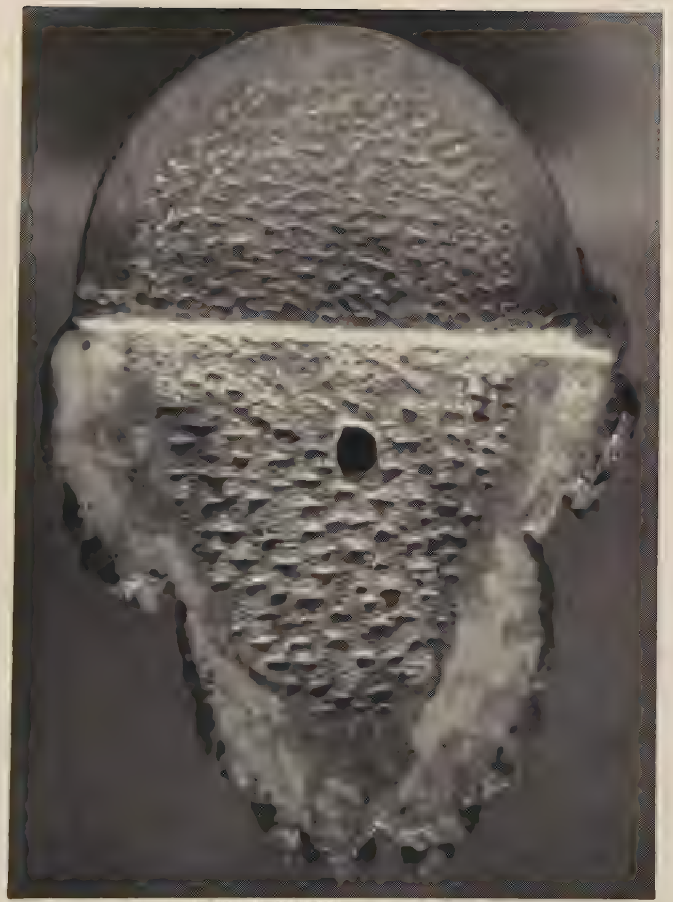


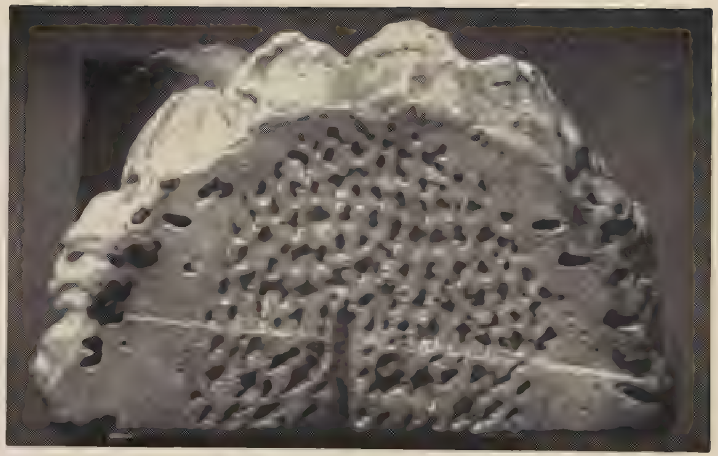
(a) (b)

(c) FROM A CAST.

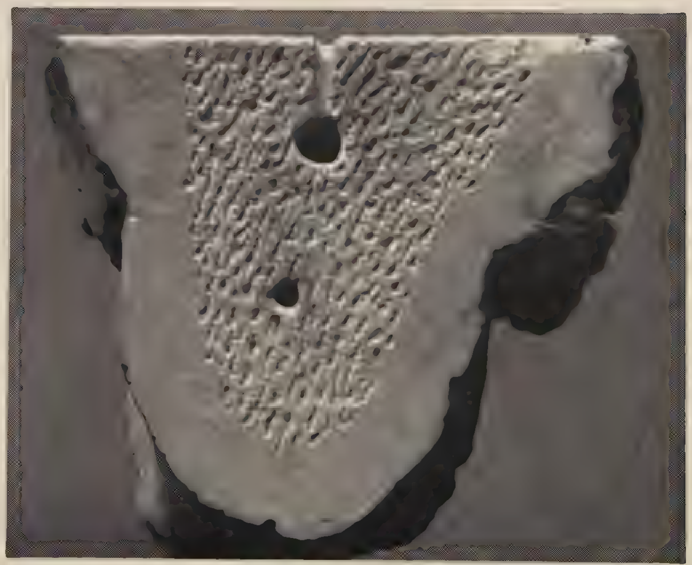
THE BLACAS HEAD.



(*a*) ‘FACE-PIECE’, BACK VIEW.

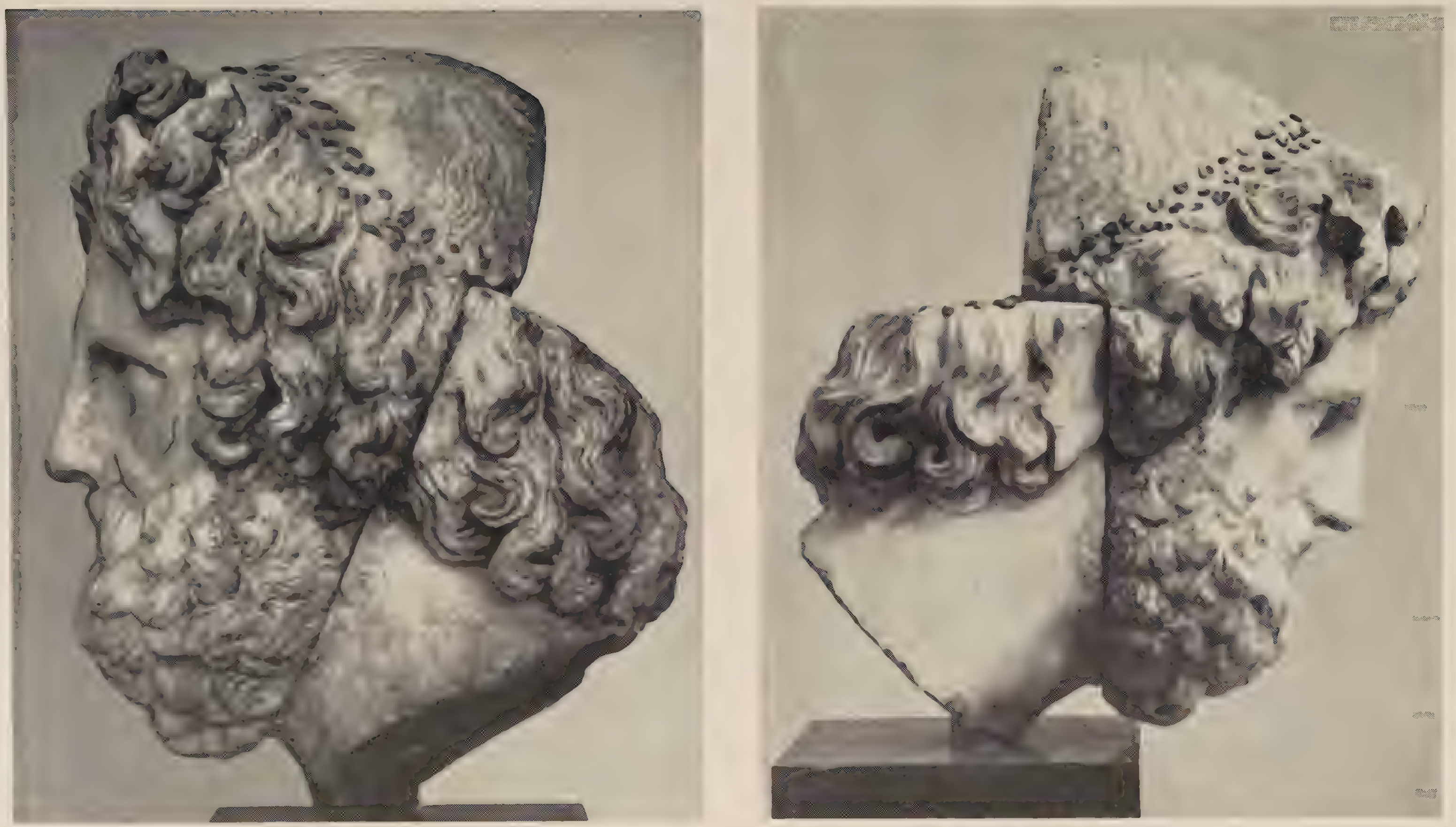


(*b*) ‘NECK-PIECE’, TOP VIEW.



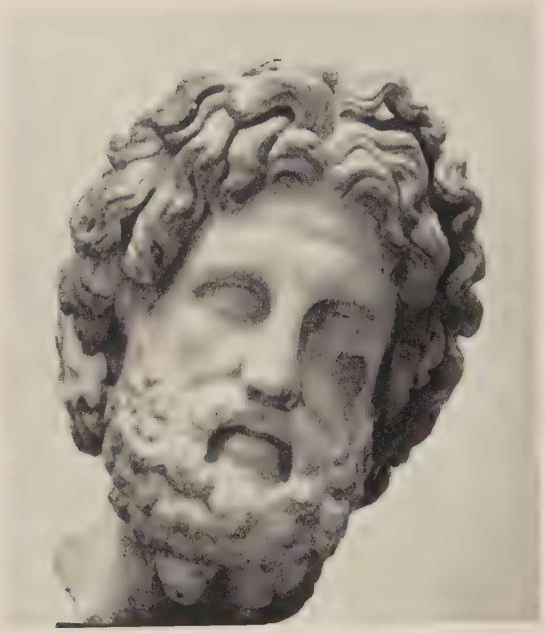
(*c*) ‘NECK-PIECE’, FRONT VIEW.

THE BLACAS HEAD.

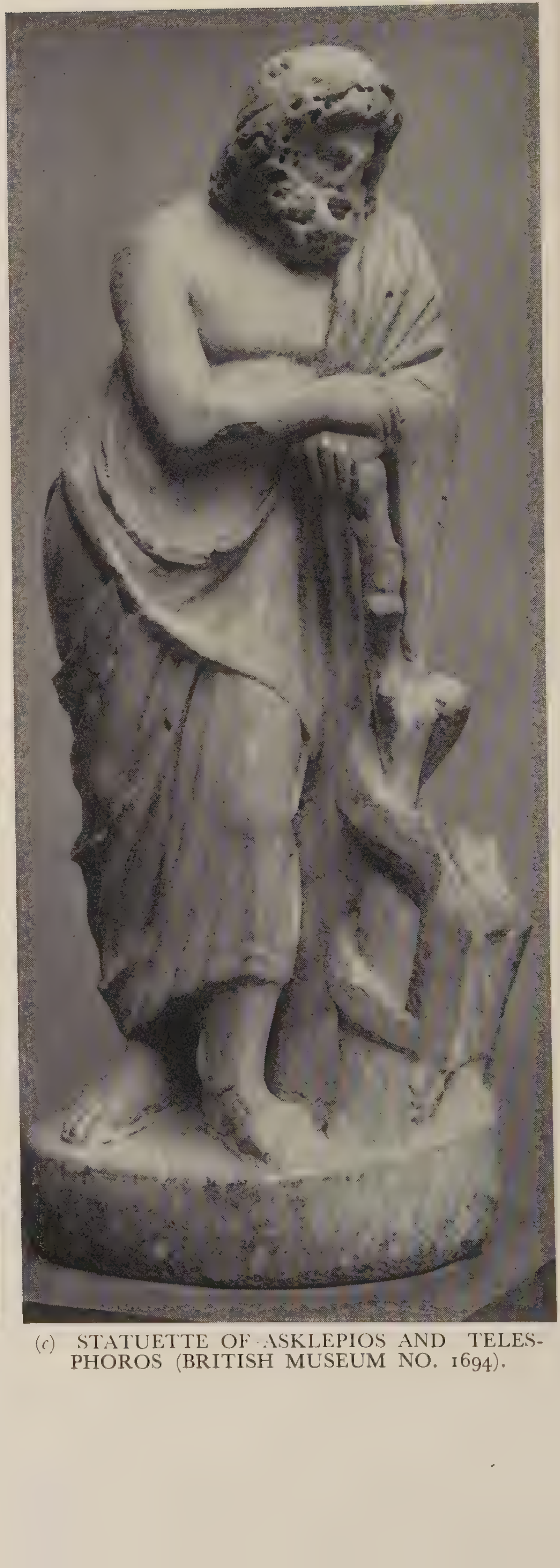


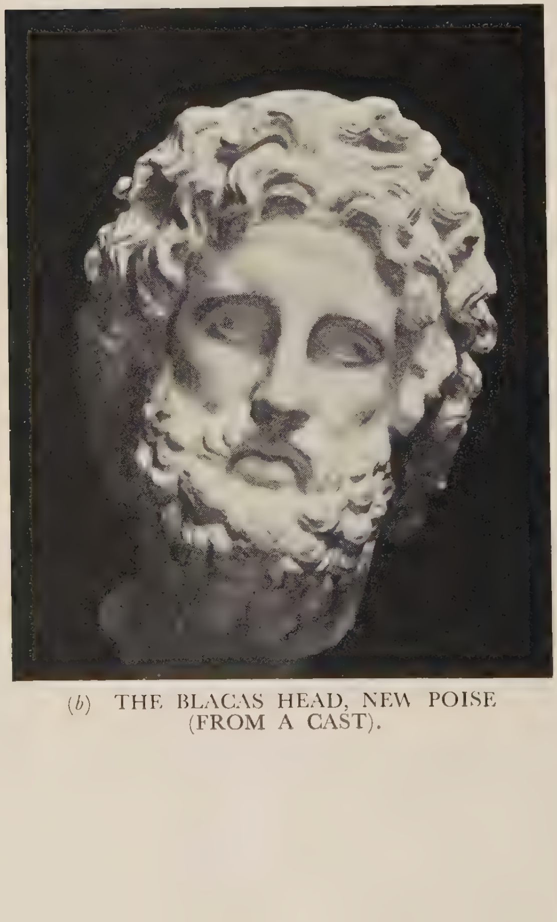
(*a*) OLD POISE. (*b*) NEW POISE.

THE BLACAS HEAD.



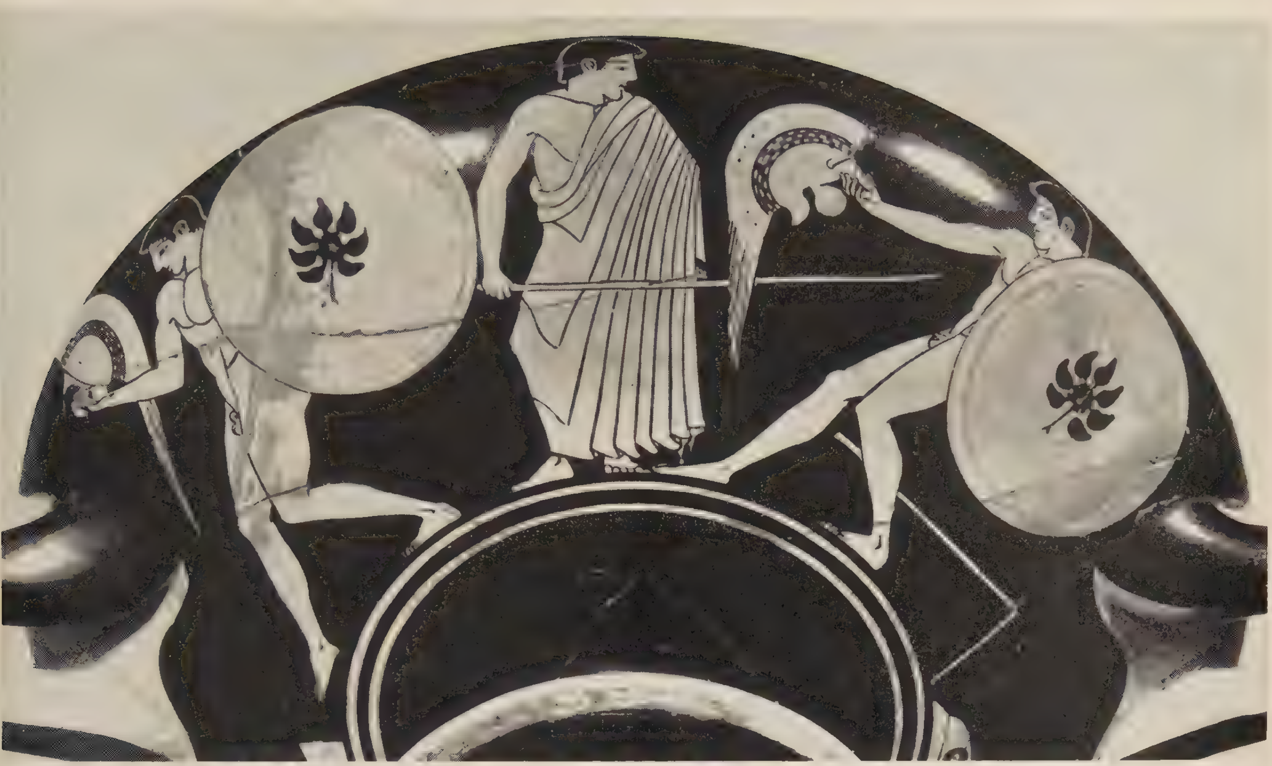
(*a*) THE BLACAS HEAD, NEW POISE.



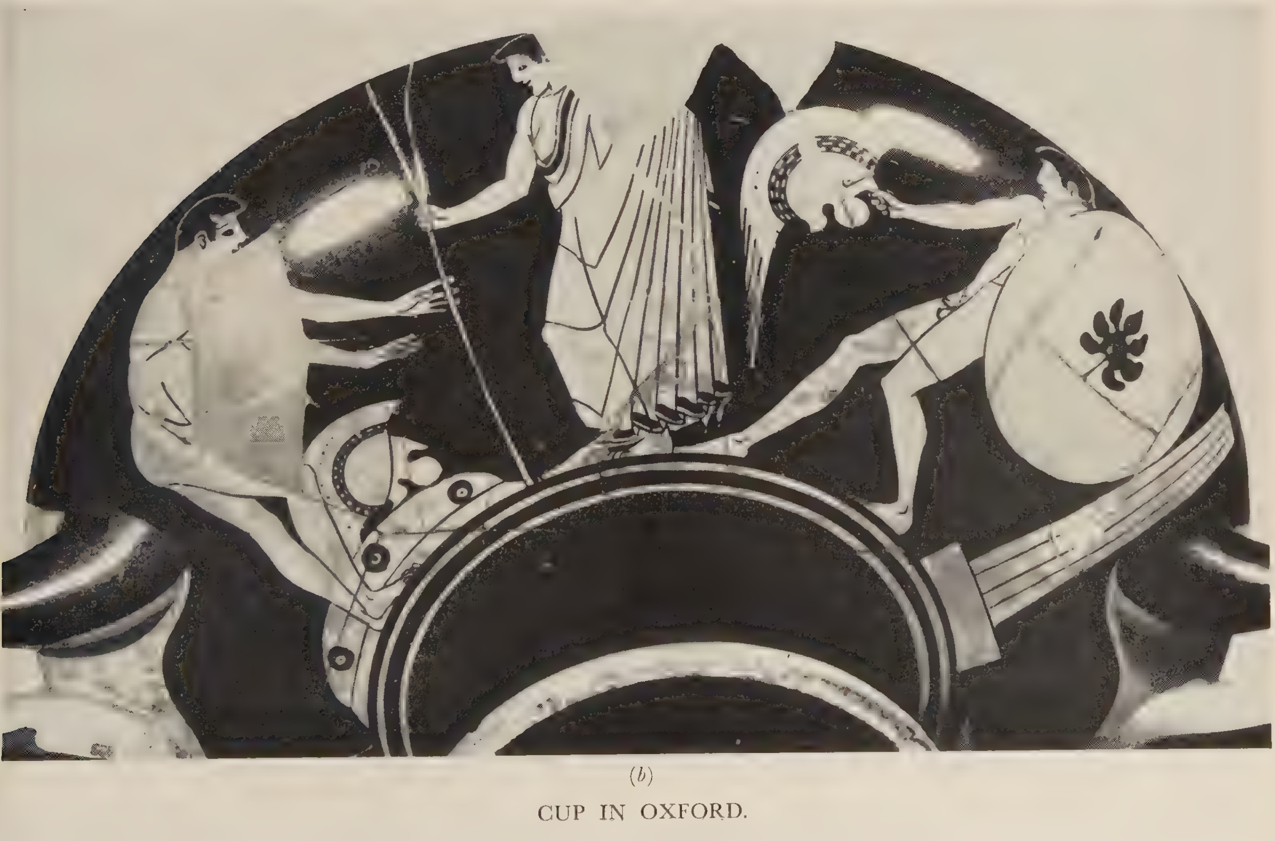


(*b*) THE BLACAS HEAD, NEW POISE (FROM A CAST).

(*c*) STATUETTE OF ASKLEPIOS AND TELESPHOROS (BRITISH MUSEUM NO. 1694).

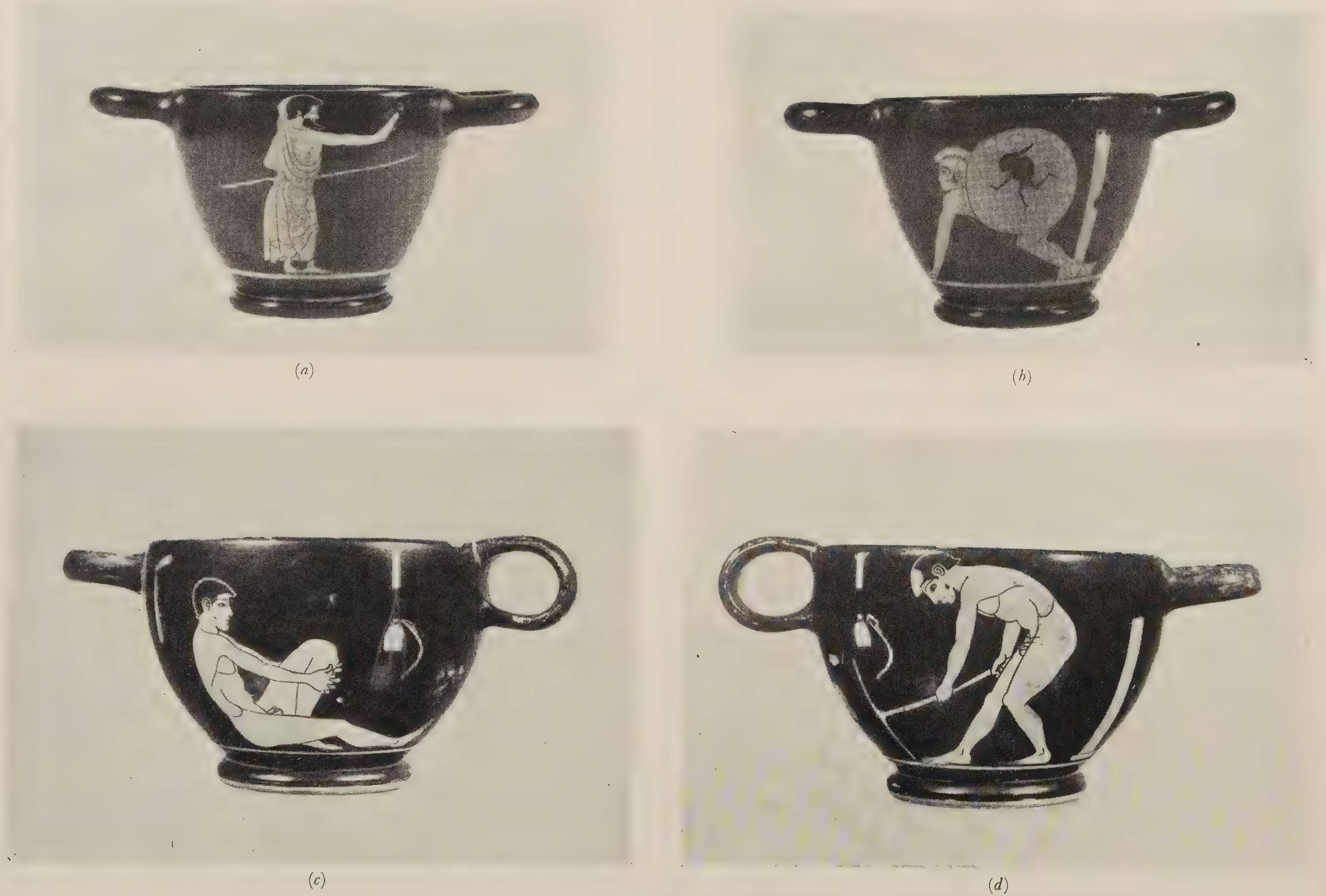


(a)



(b)

CUP IN OXFORD.



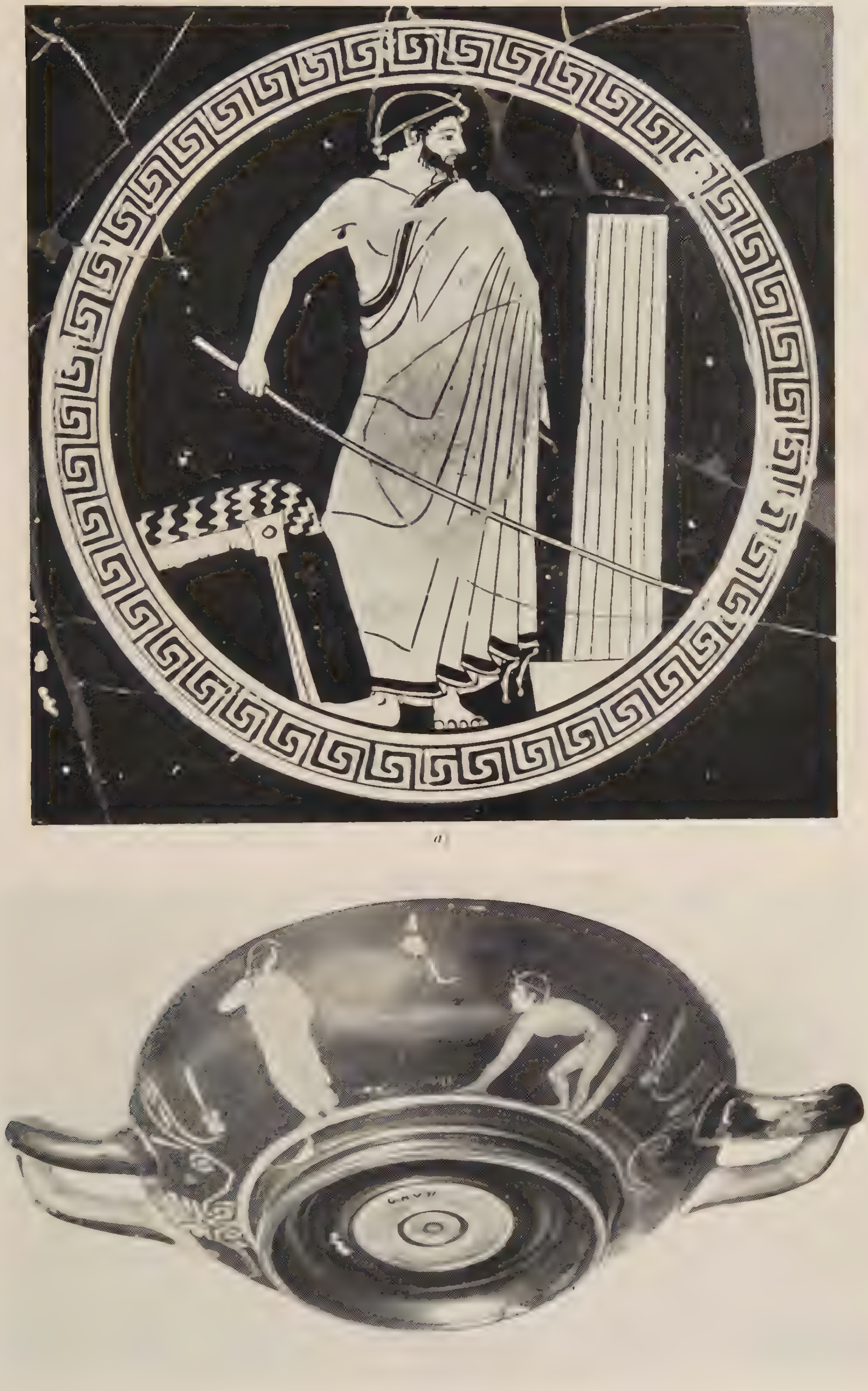
(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

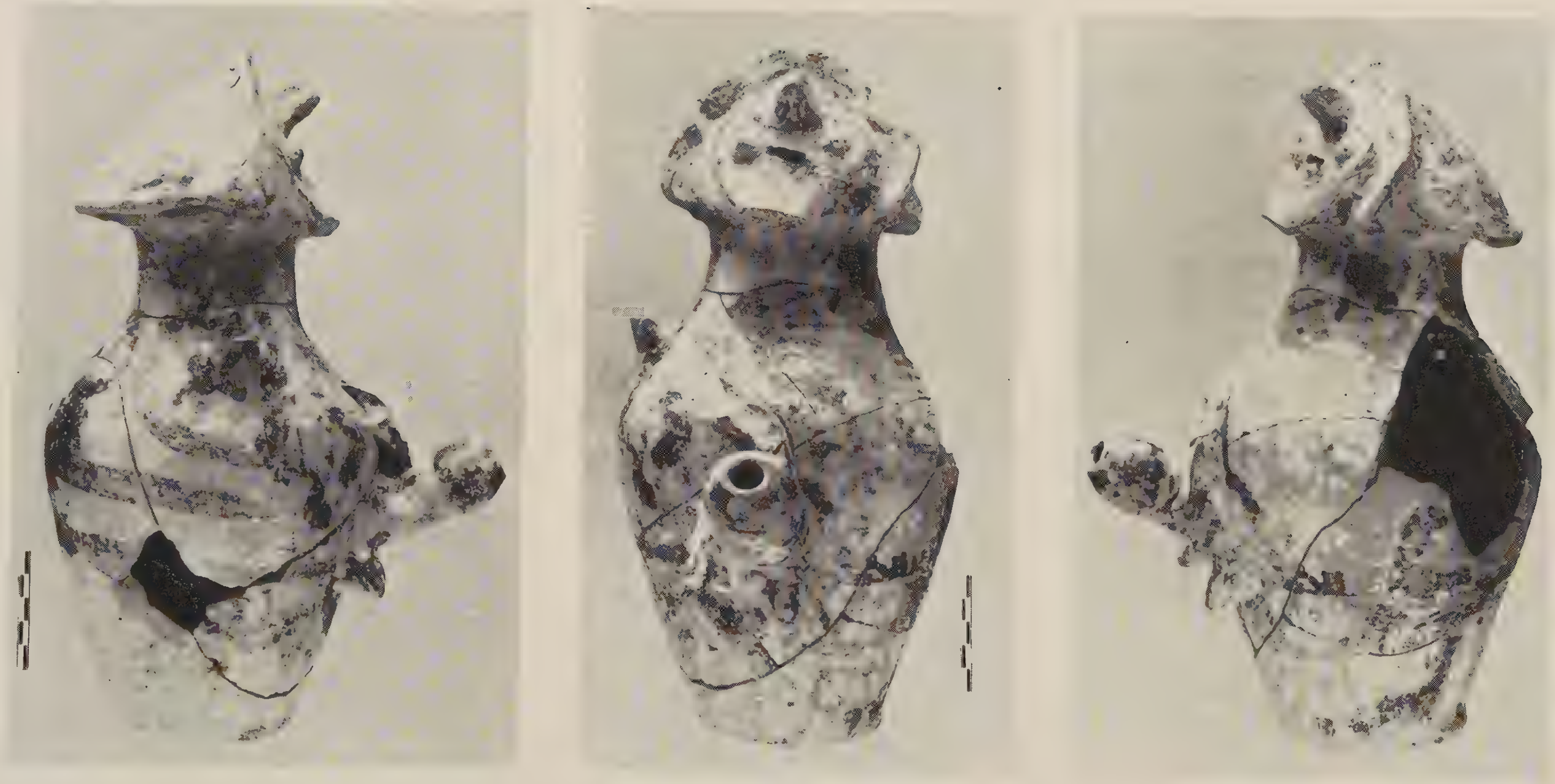
(a)–(b) SKYPHOS IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. R. HEARST, SAN SIMEON.
(c)–(d) SKYPHOS IN THE COLLECTION OF LORD NATHAN OF CHURT.



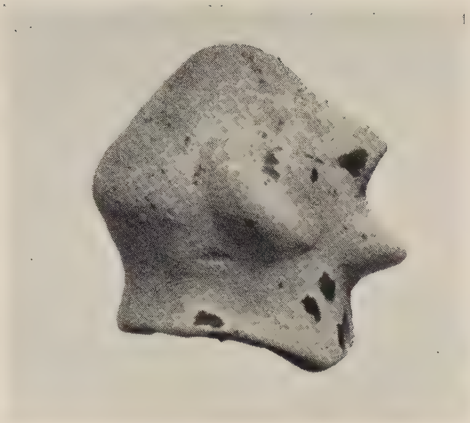
(a)

(b)

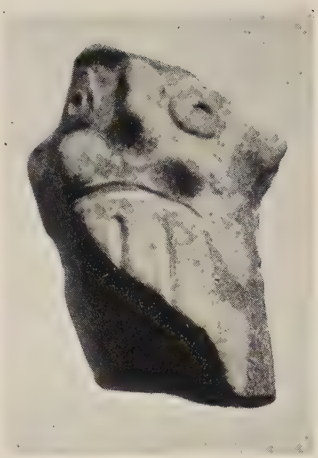
(a) CUP IN OXFORD. (b) STEMLESS CUP IN LEYDEN.



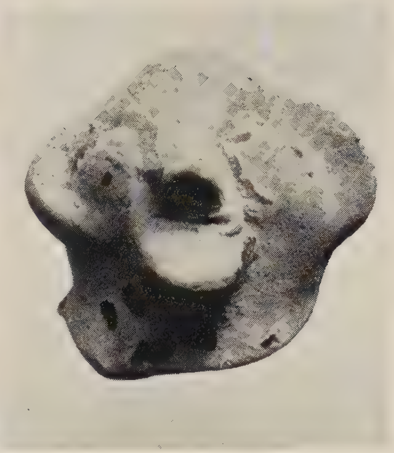
SPENDEKANNE AUS SAMOS.



(*a*)



(*b*)



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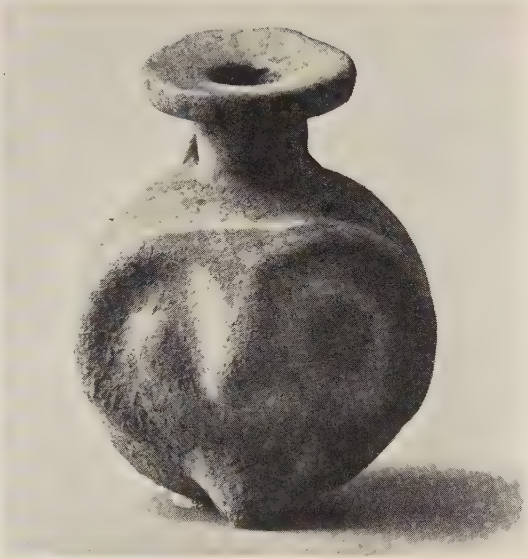
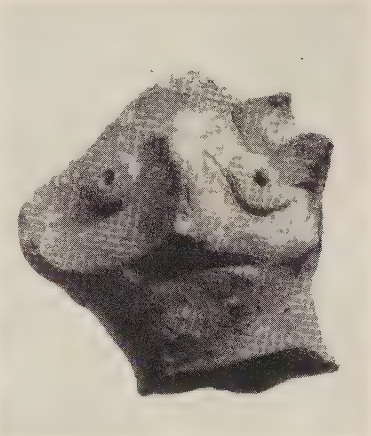
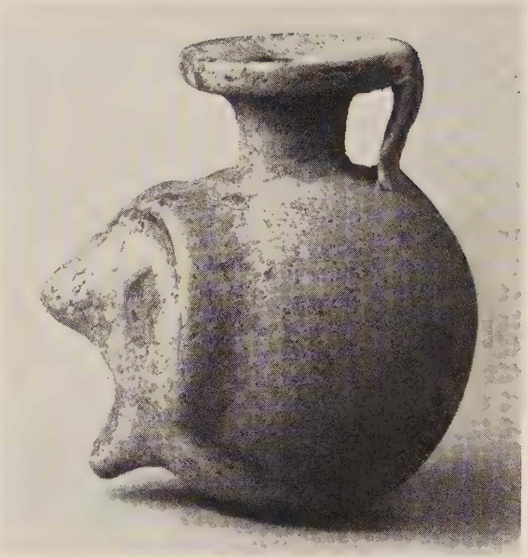


(*d*)



(*e*)

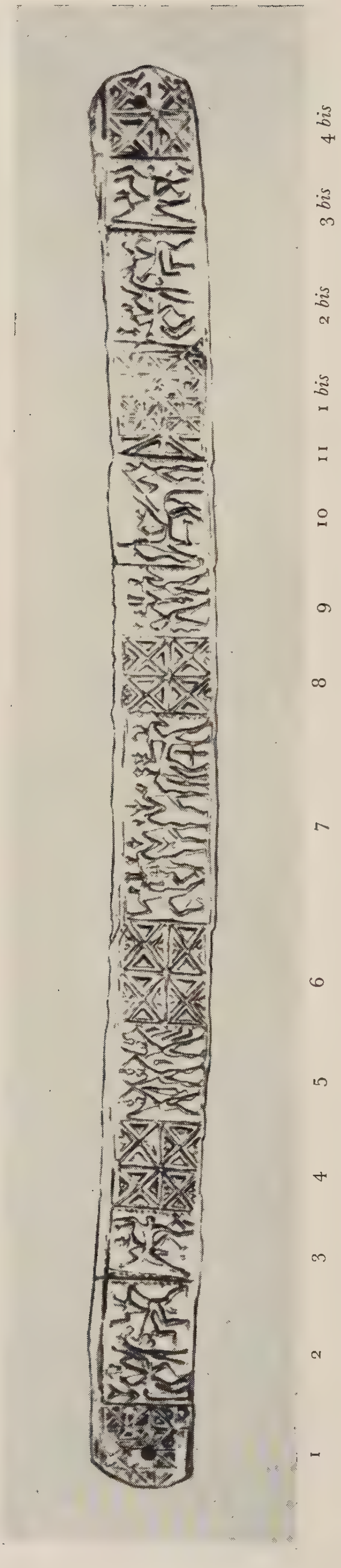


(*f*)

(*a*) TONFIGUR SAMOS T493.
(*d*) SALBGEFÄSS ERLANGEN.

(*b*) TONFIGUR SAMOS T780.
(*e*) TONFIGUR SAMOS T862.

(*c*) TONFIGUR SAMOS T493.
(*f*) SALBGEFÄSS ERLANGEN.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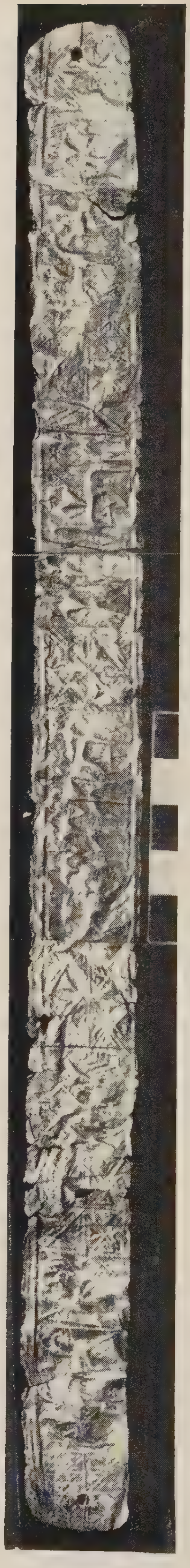
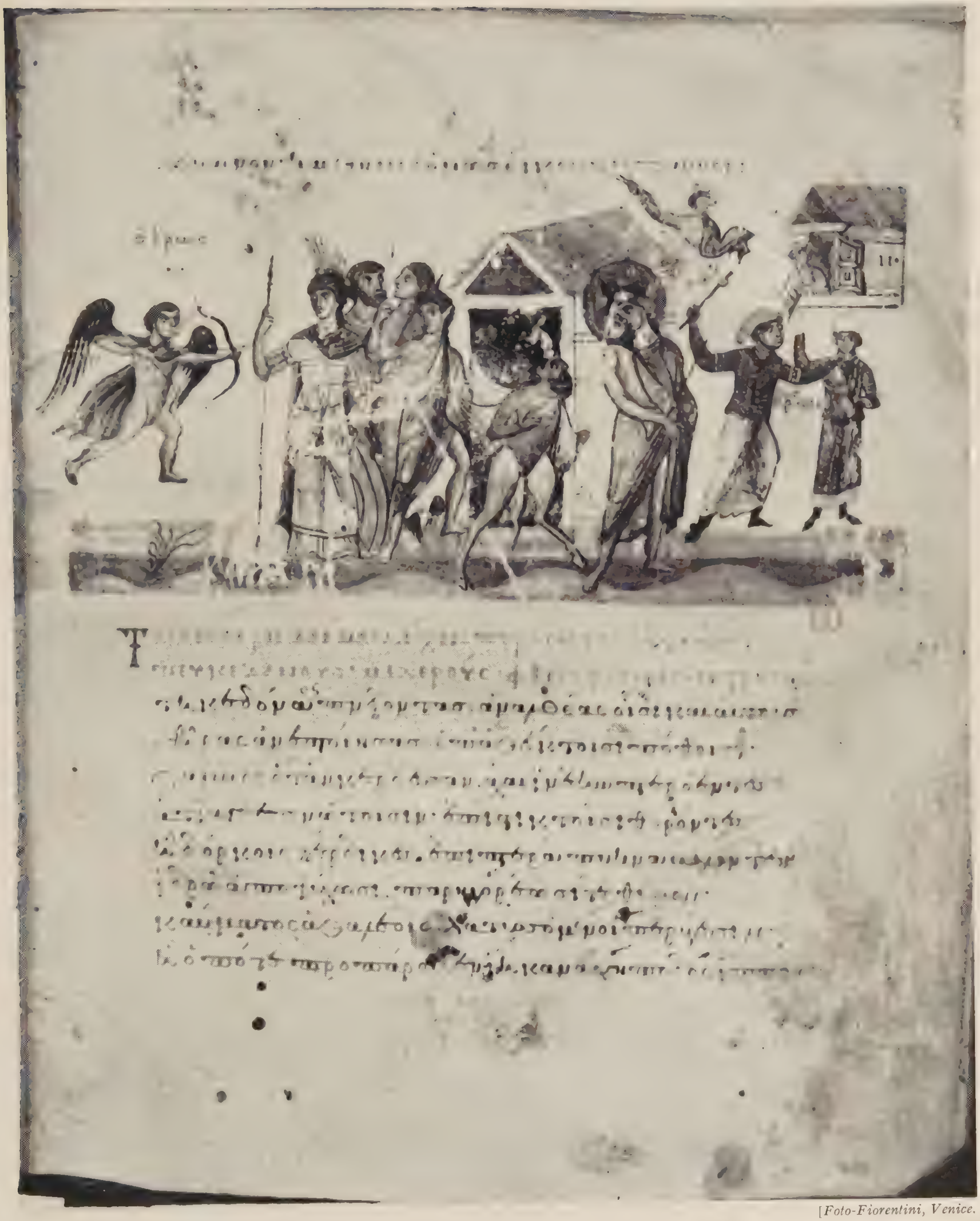
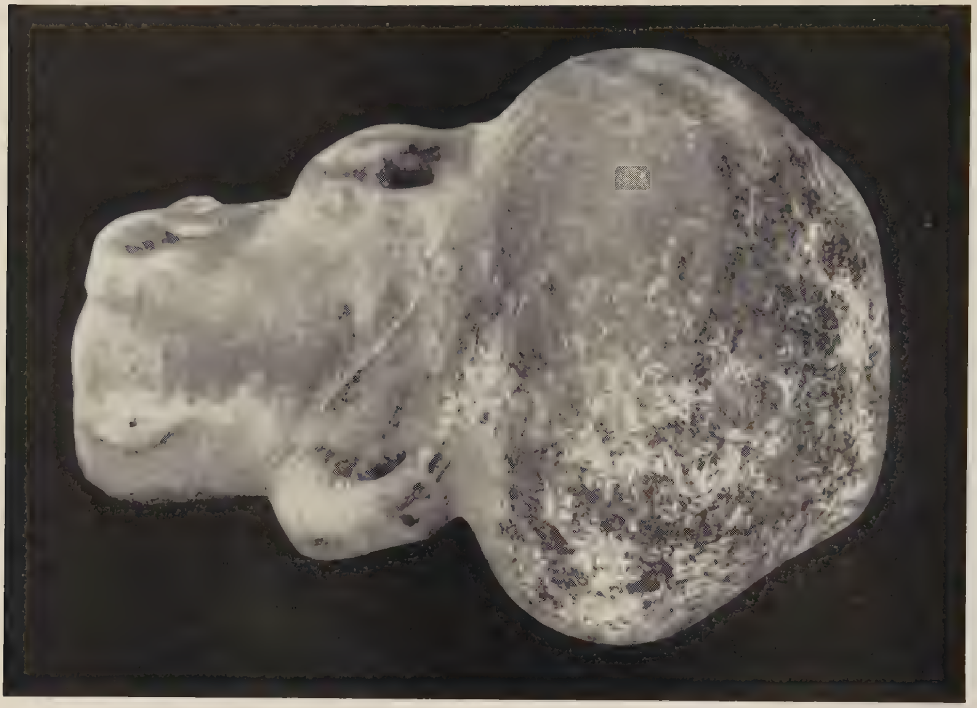


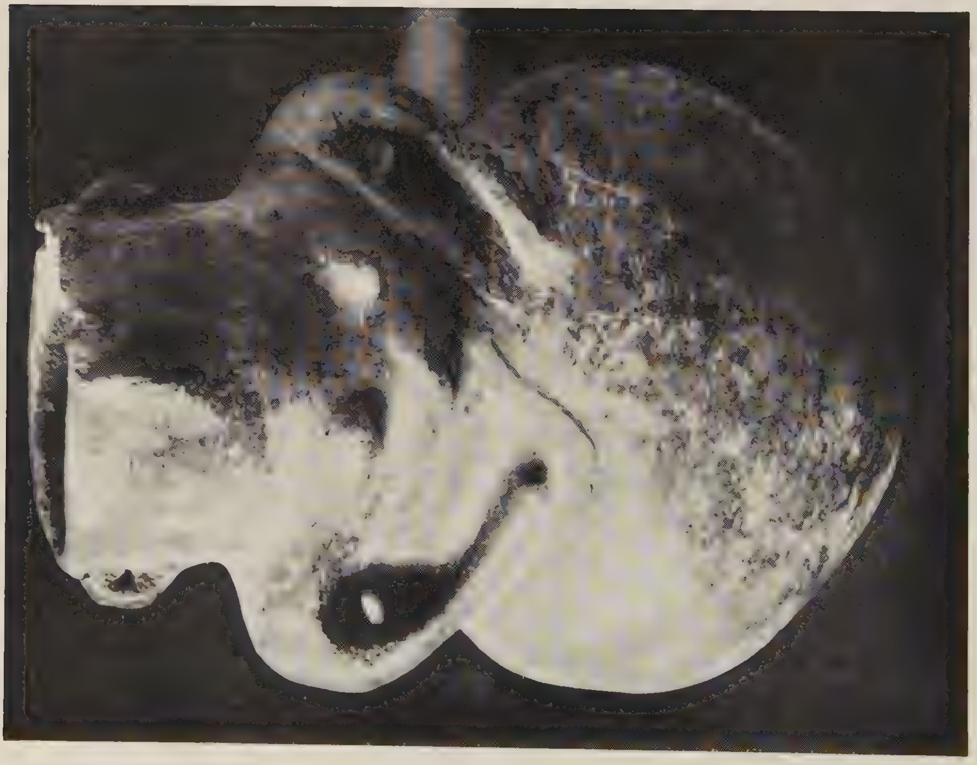
GOLD BAND IN STATHATOU COLLECTION, ATHENS.



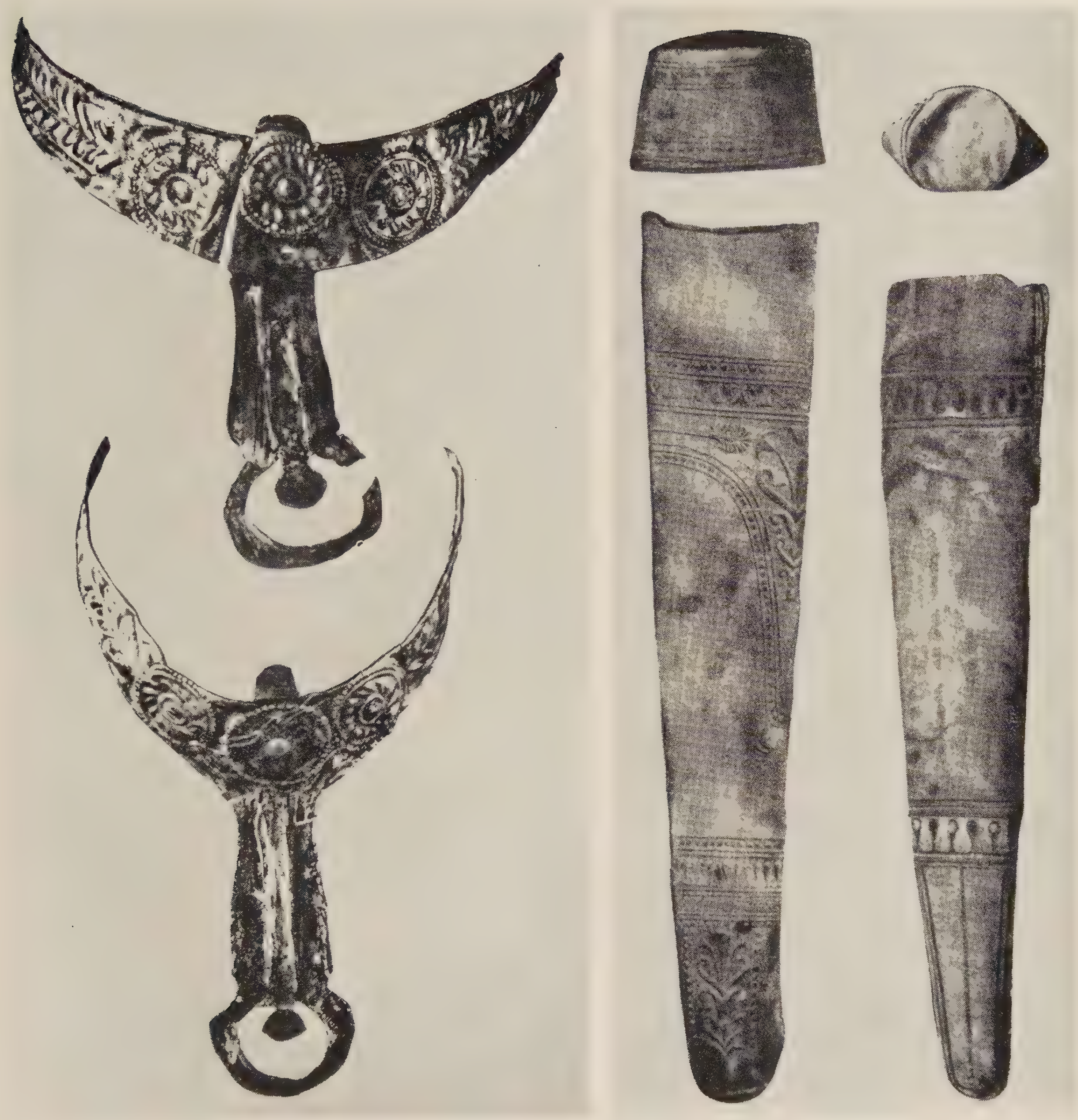
[Foto-Fiorentini, Venice.

THE POWER OF EROS: MINIATURE FROM A X CENTURY BYZANTINE MS.



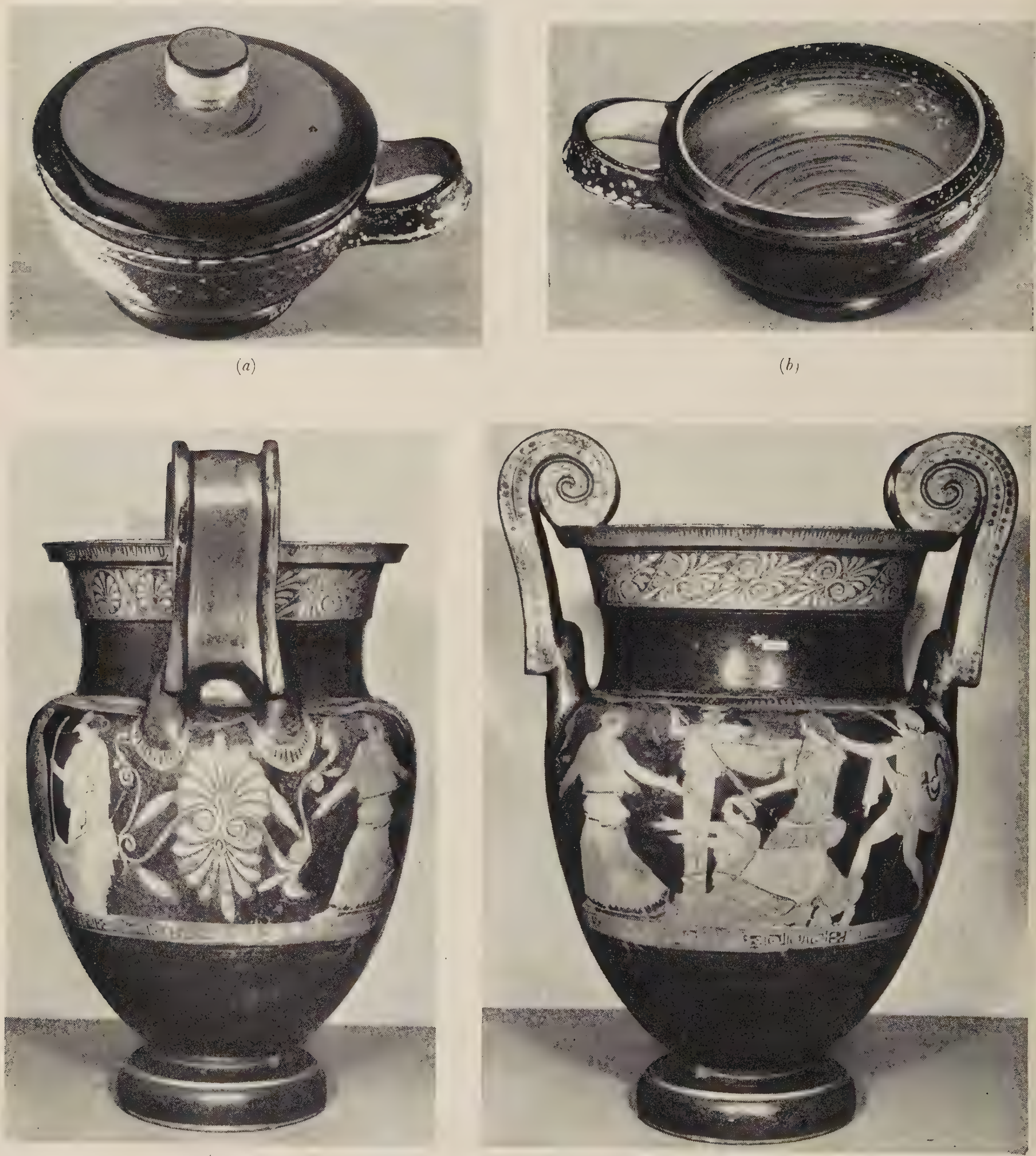


ANTHROPOMORPHIC JAR FROM BOLU, AT ANKARA.



(*a*) (*b*)

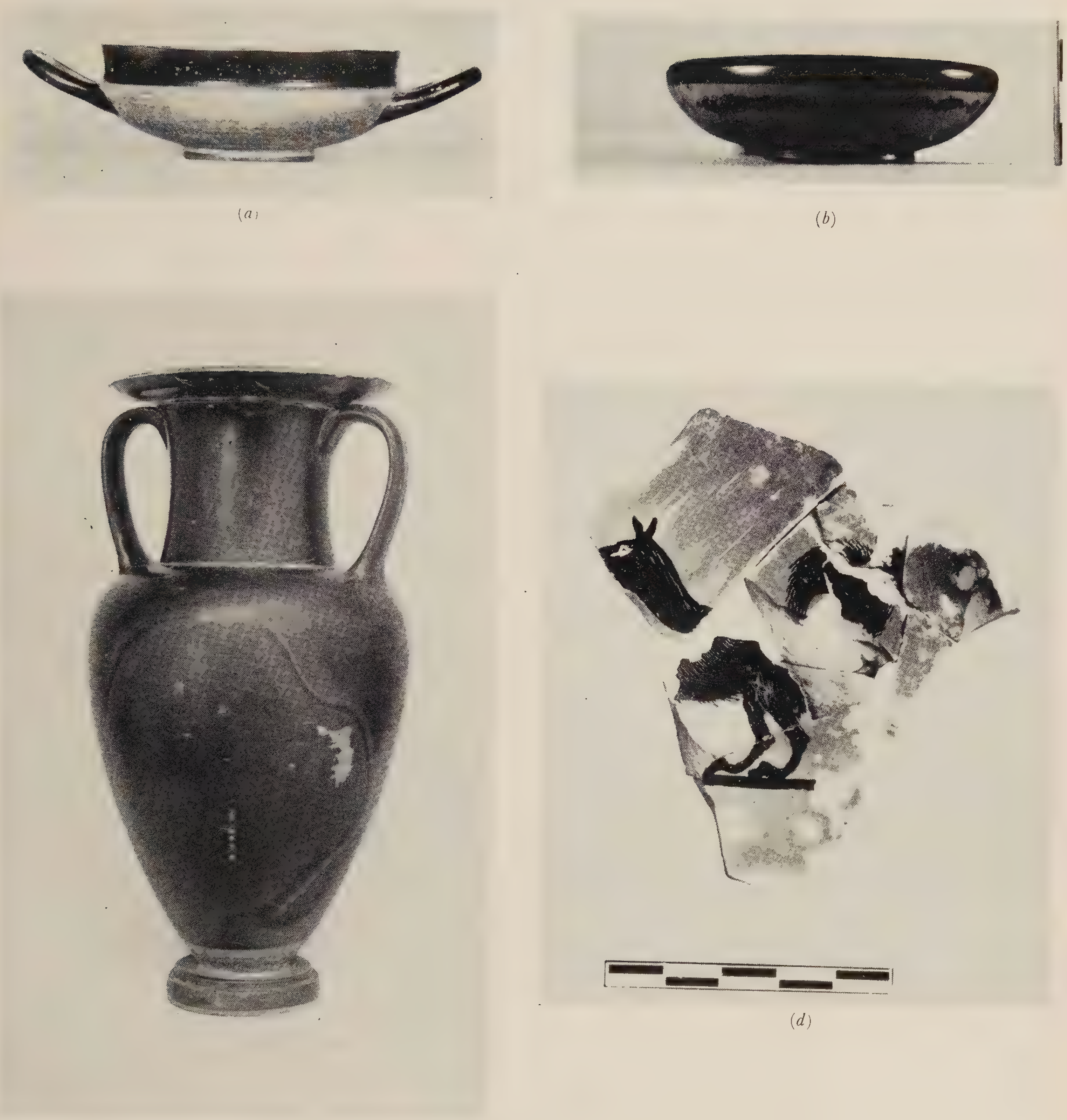
(*a*) 'GAMASCHENHALTER' FROM SHAFT GRAVE IV AT MYCENAE.
(*b*) EGYPTIAN QUIVERS FROM THE MAHERPERIS TOMB.



(a) (b)

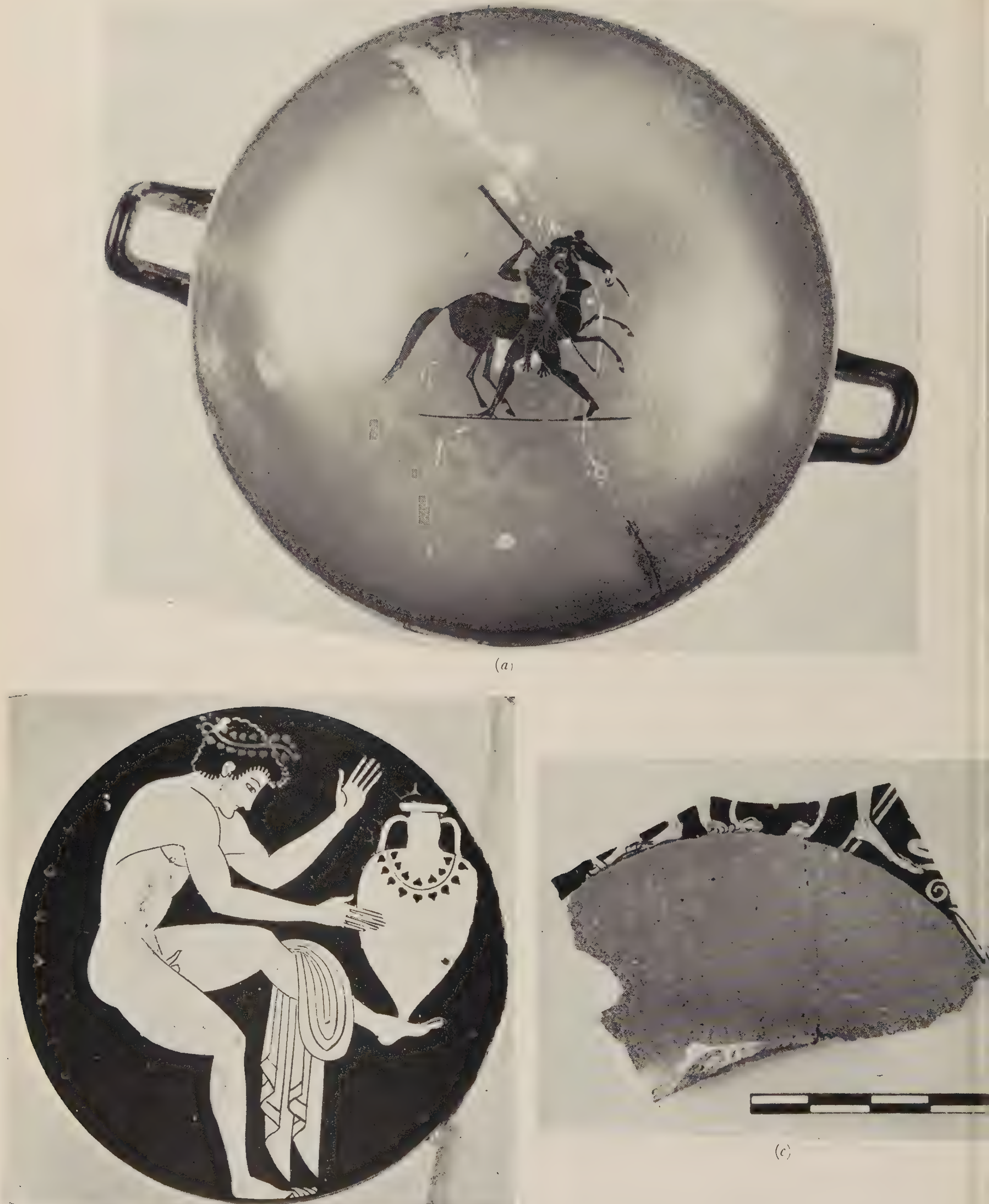
(c) (d)

(*a*), (*b*), COVERED BOWL IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, AND (*c*), (*d*), VOLUTE KRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, BOTH WITH ACCIDENTAL RED GLAZE.

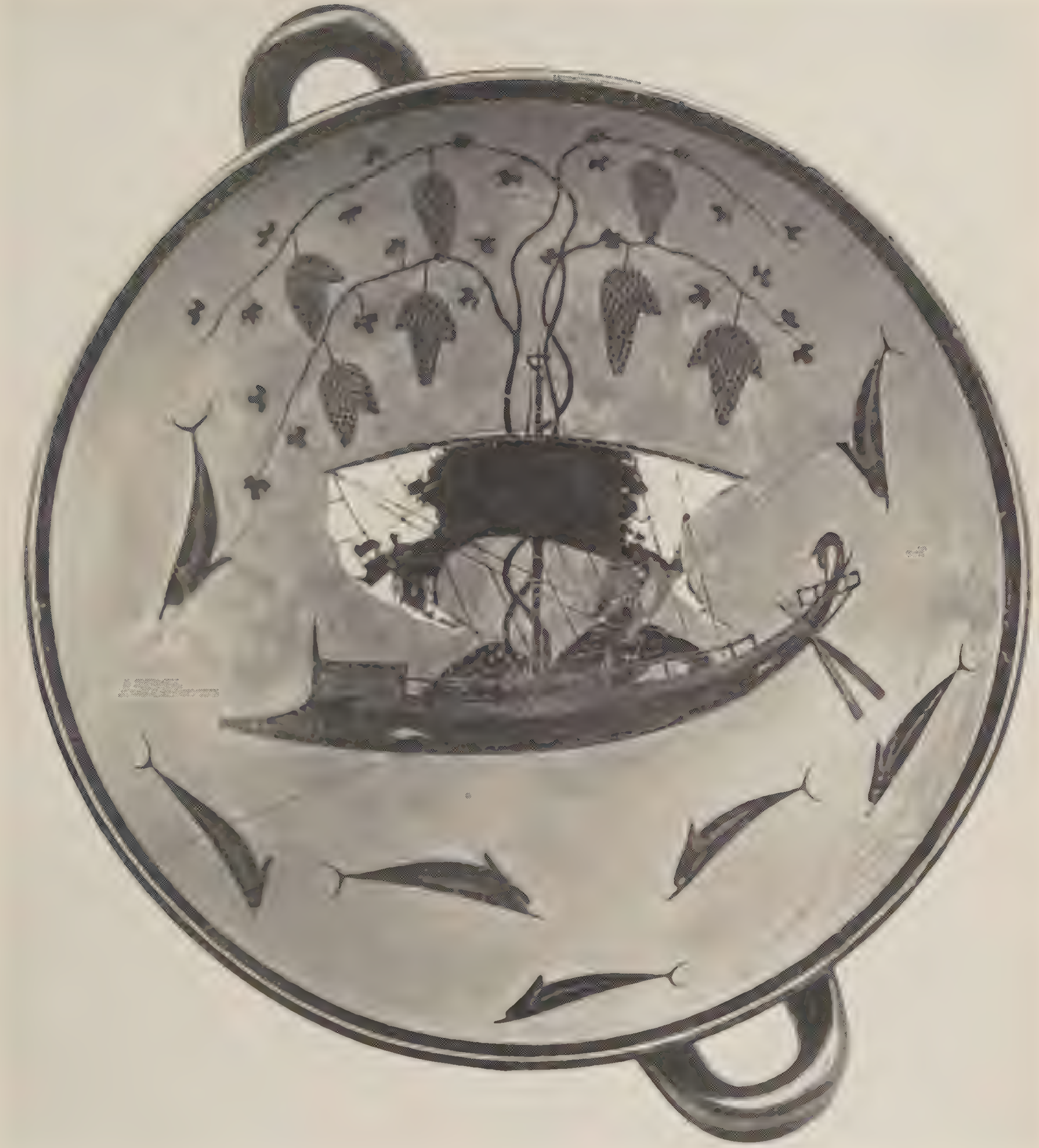


(a) (b) (c) (d)

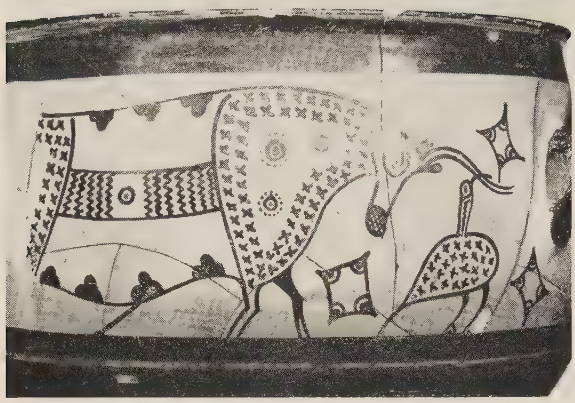
(a), (b) BOWLS, AND (d) FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX, IN THE AGORA MUSEUM, WITH INTENTIONAL RED GLAZE. (c) NECK-AMPHORA, IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, WITH ACCIDENTAL RED GLAZE.

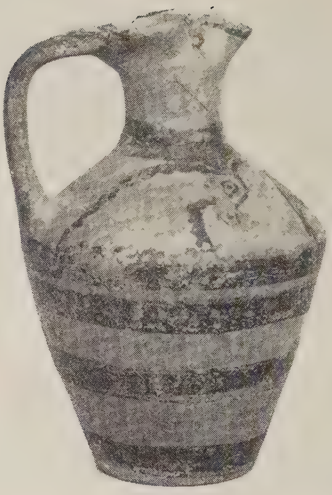


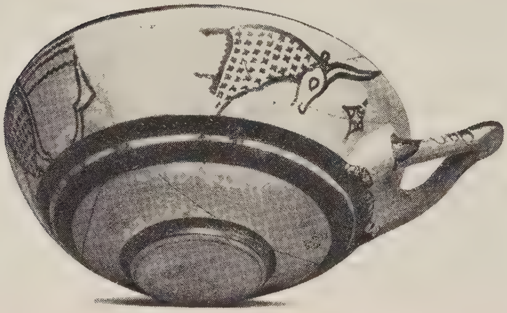
(*a*) BLACK-FIGURED KYLIX IN THE ODESSA MUSEUM. (*b*) RED-FIGURED KYLIX IN THE LOUVRE. (*c*) FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX IN THE AGORA MUSEUM. ALL WITH INTENTIONAL RED GLAZE.

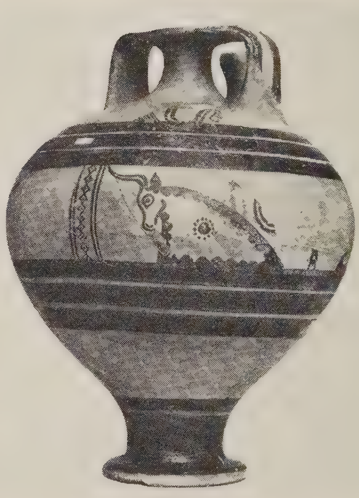


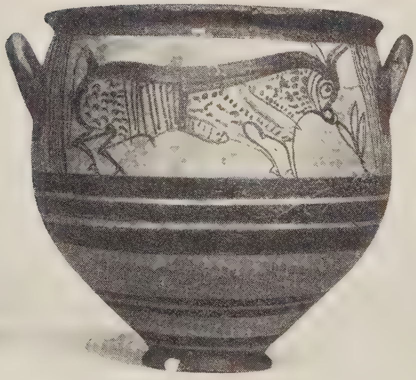
BLACK-FIGURED KYLIX IN MUNICH WITH INTENTIONAL RED GLAZE.

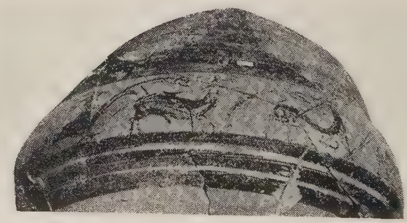

(*a*)


(*c*)


(*b*)

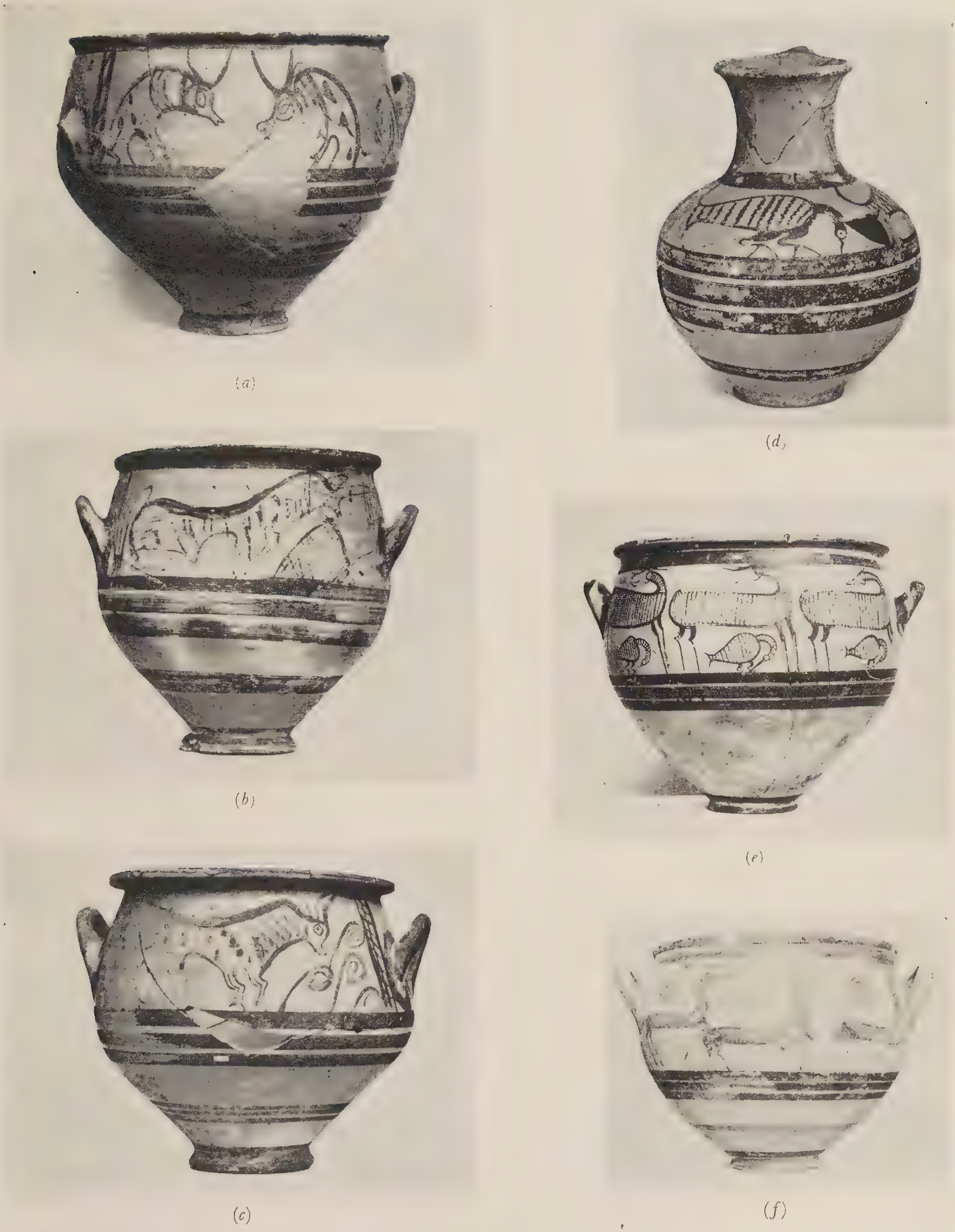

(*d*)


(*e*)


(*f*)

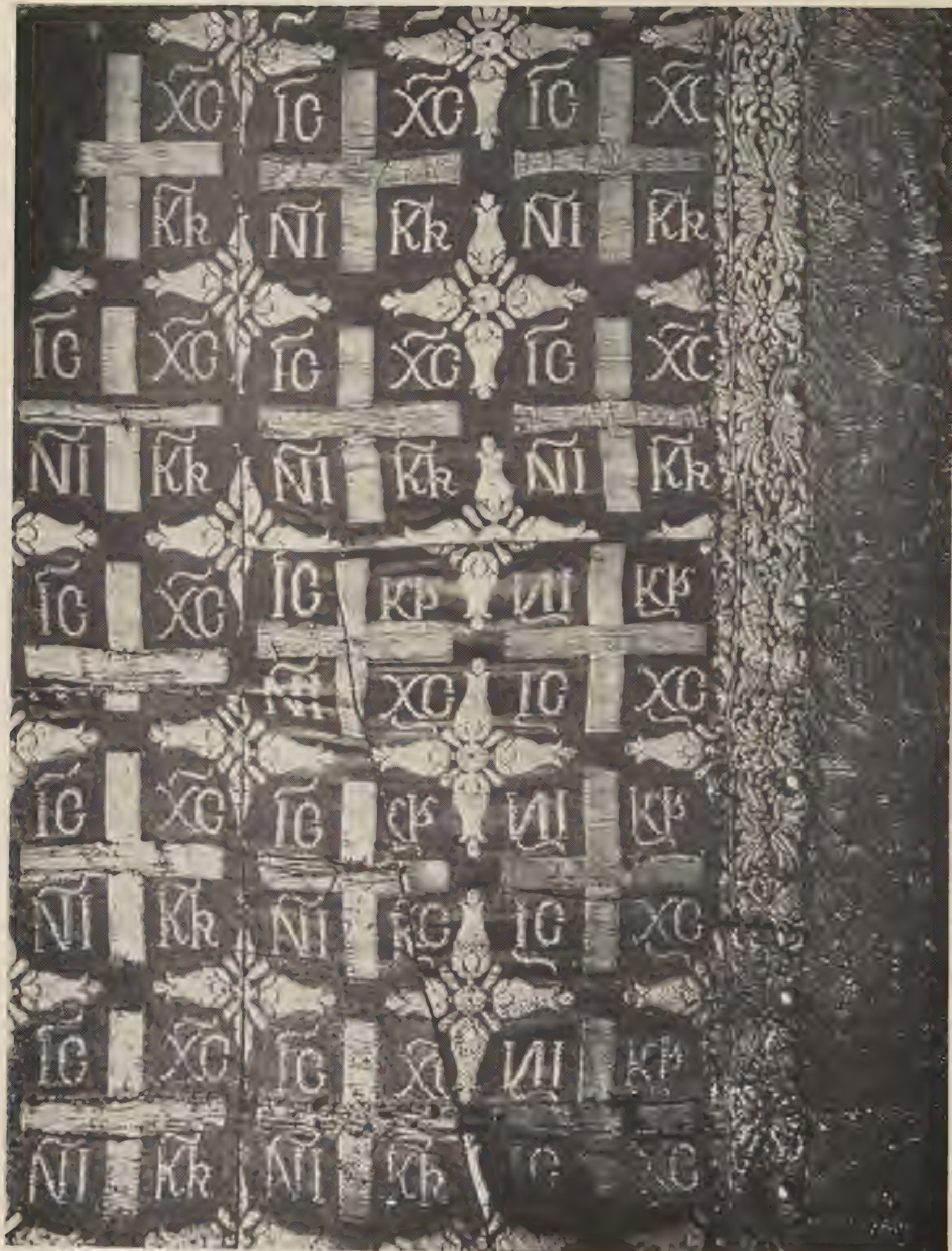
SOME MYCENAEAN ARTISTS.

(*a*) FROM KLAVDIA (B.M.C402). (*b*) FROM KLAVDIA (B.M.C623). (*c*) FROM ENKOMI (B.M.C577).
(*d*) FROM KLAVDIA (B.M.C514). (*e*) FROM KLAVDIA (B.M.C421). (*f*) B.M.C389.

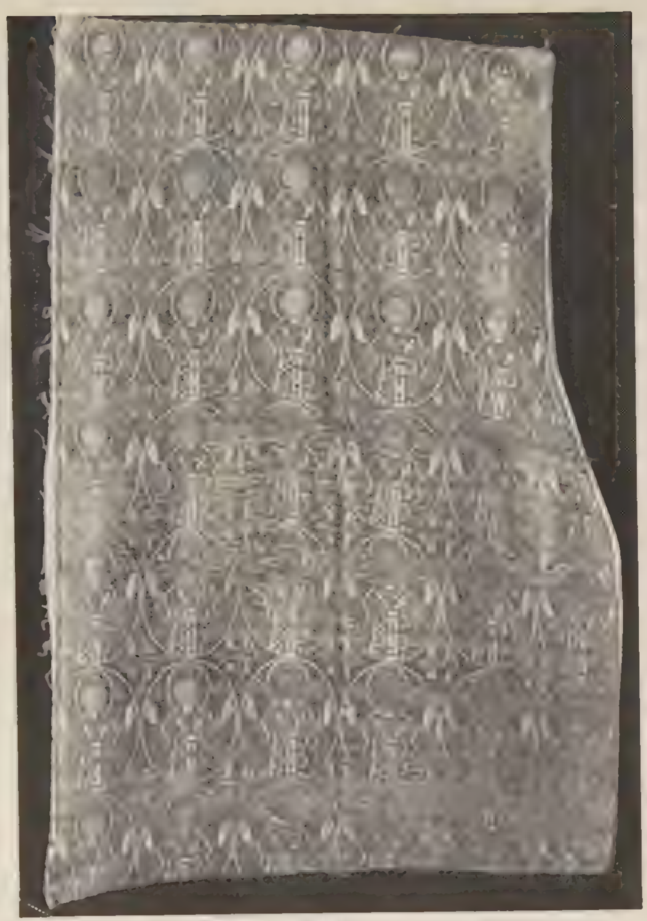


SOME MYCENAEAN ARTISTS.

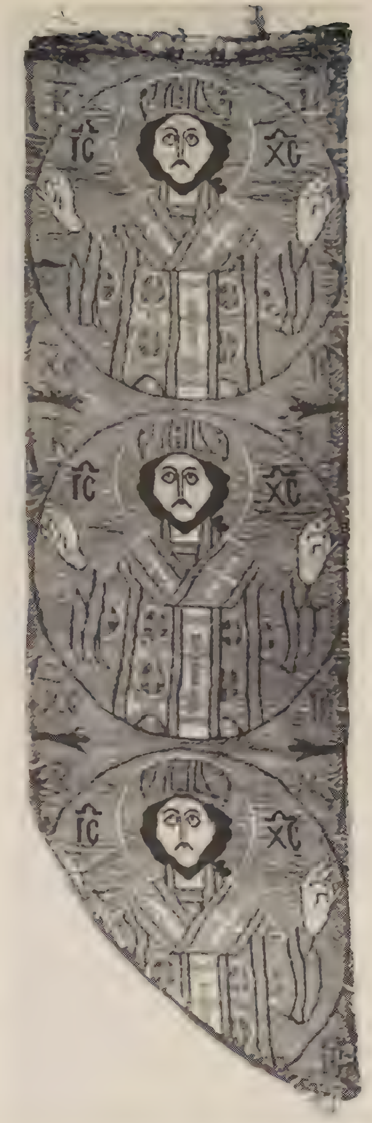
(a) B.M.C418. (b) B.M.C419. (c) B.M.C.420. (d) B.M.C583.
(e) B.M.C409. ALL FROM ENKOMI. (f) CYPRUS MUSEUM A1546. FROM SALAMIS.



BYZANTINE FIGURED SILK, XVII CENTURY (IN SAN GIORGIO DEI GRECI, VENICE).



(a)

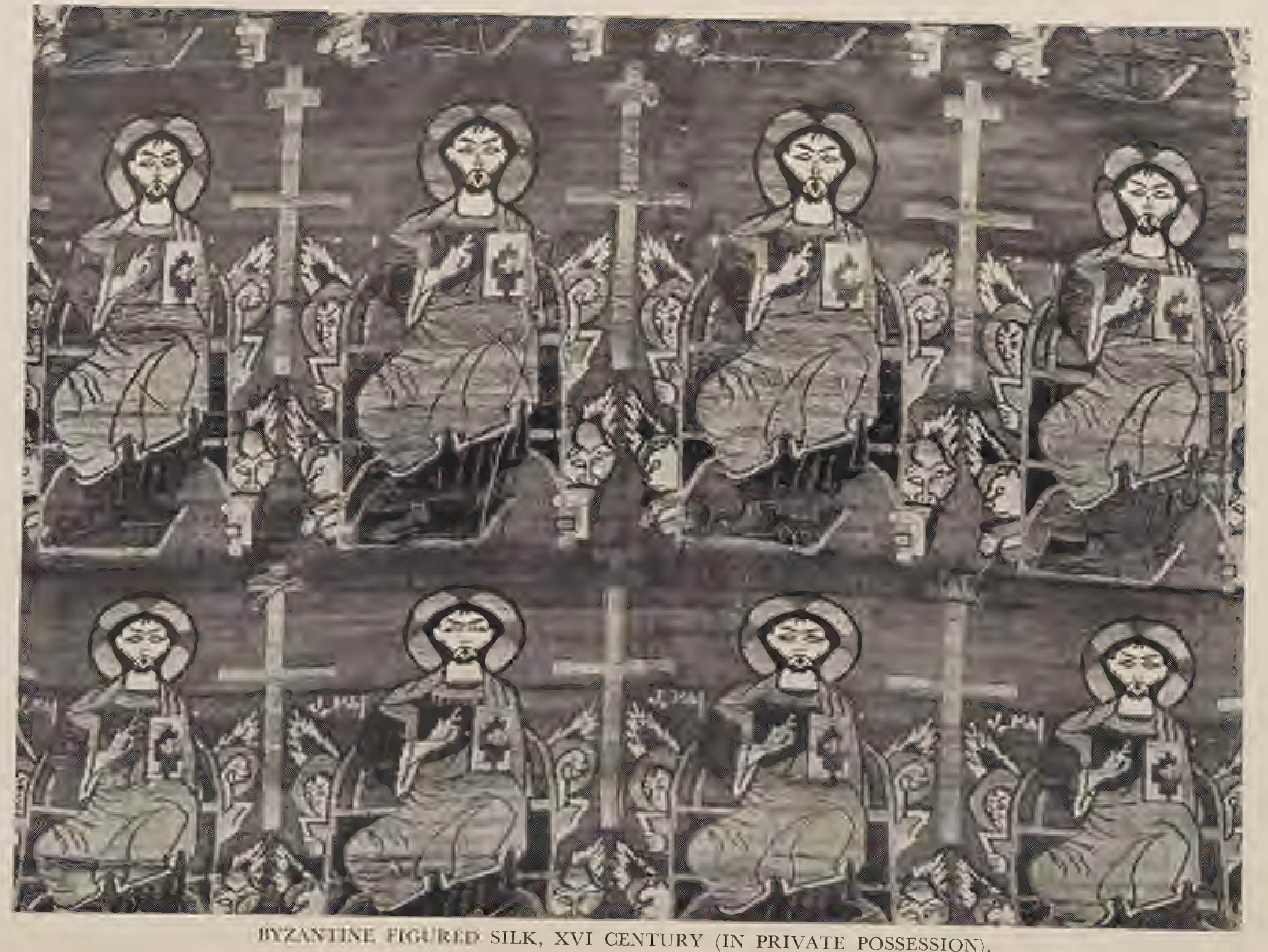


(b)

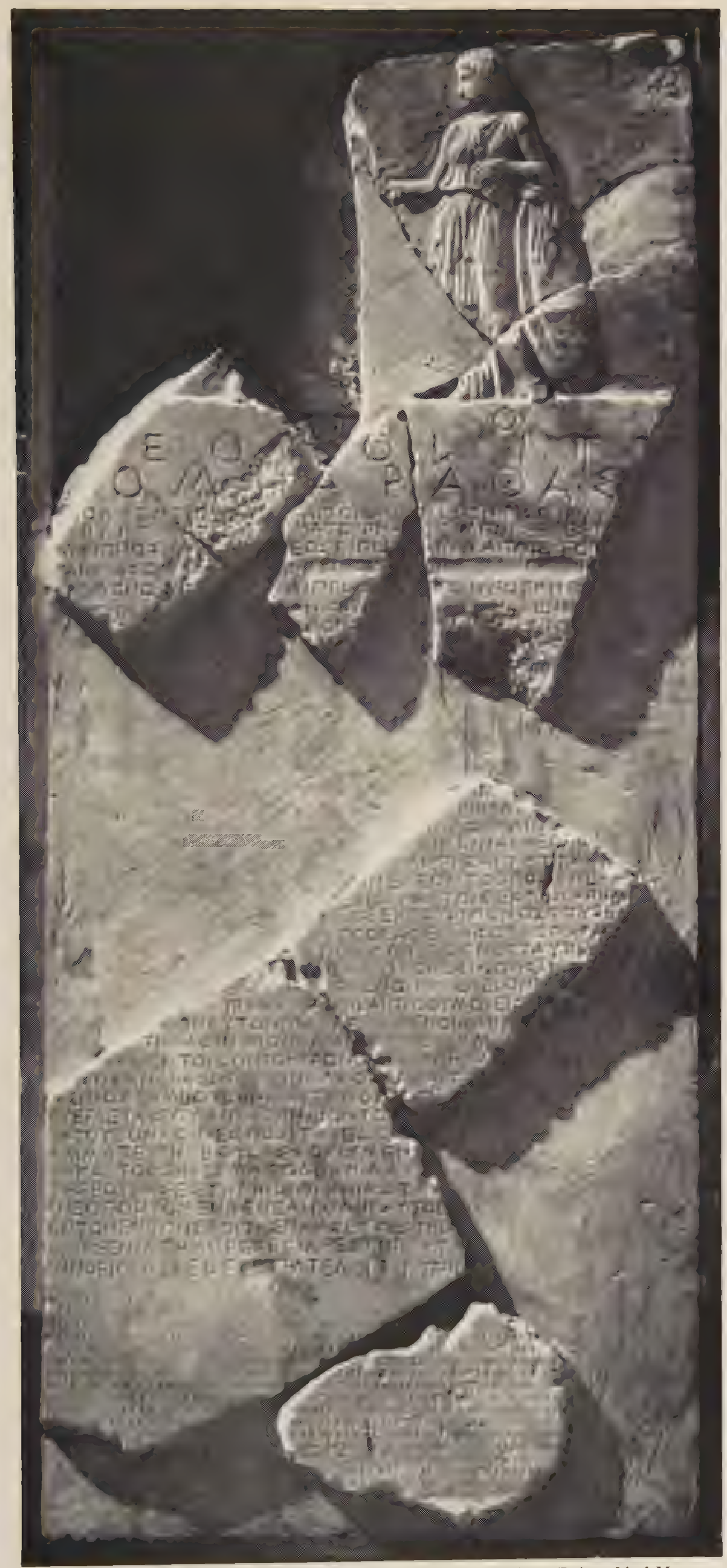
(c)

BYZANTINE FIGURED SILKS.

(*a*) XVI CENTURY (IN PRIVATE POSSESSION). (*b*) XVI CENTURY (VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM NO. 885–1899). (*c*) XVI OR XVII CENTURY (IN PRIVATE POSSESSION).

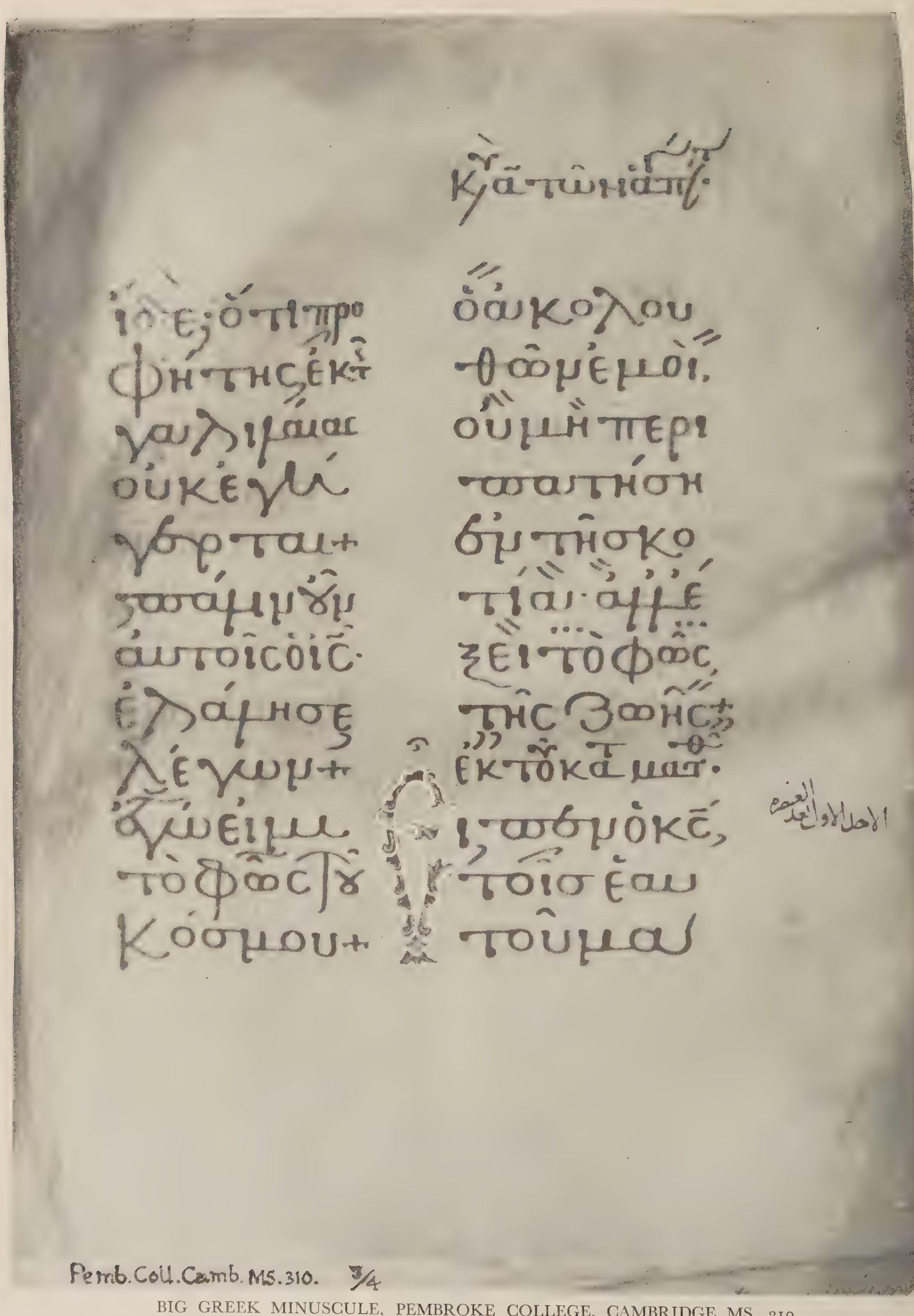


BYZANTINE FIGURED SILK, XVI CENTURY (IN PRIVATE POSSESSION).



[*Courtesy of the National Epigraphical Museum.*

THE LARGER FRAGMENTS (EM 6598) OF *IG* I^2, 108.



κ(υριακῇ) ᾱ τῶν ἁγί(ων) πατ(έρων)

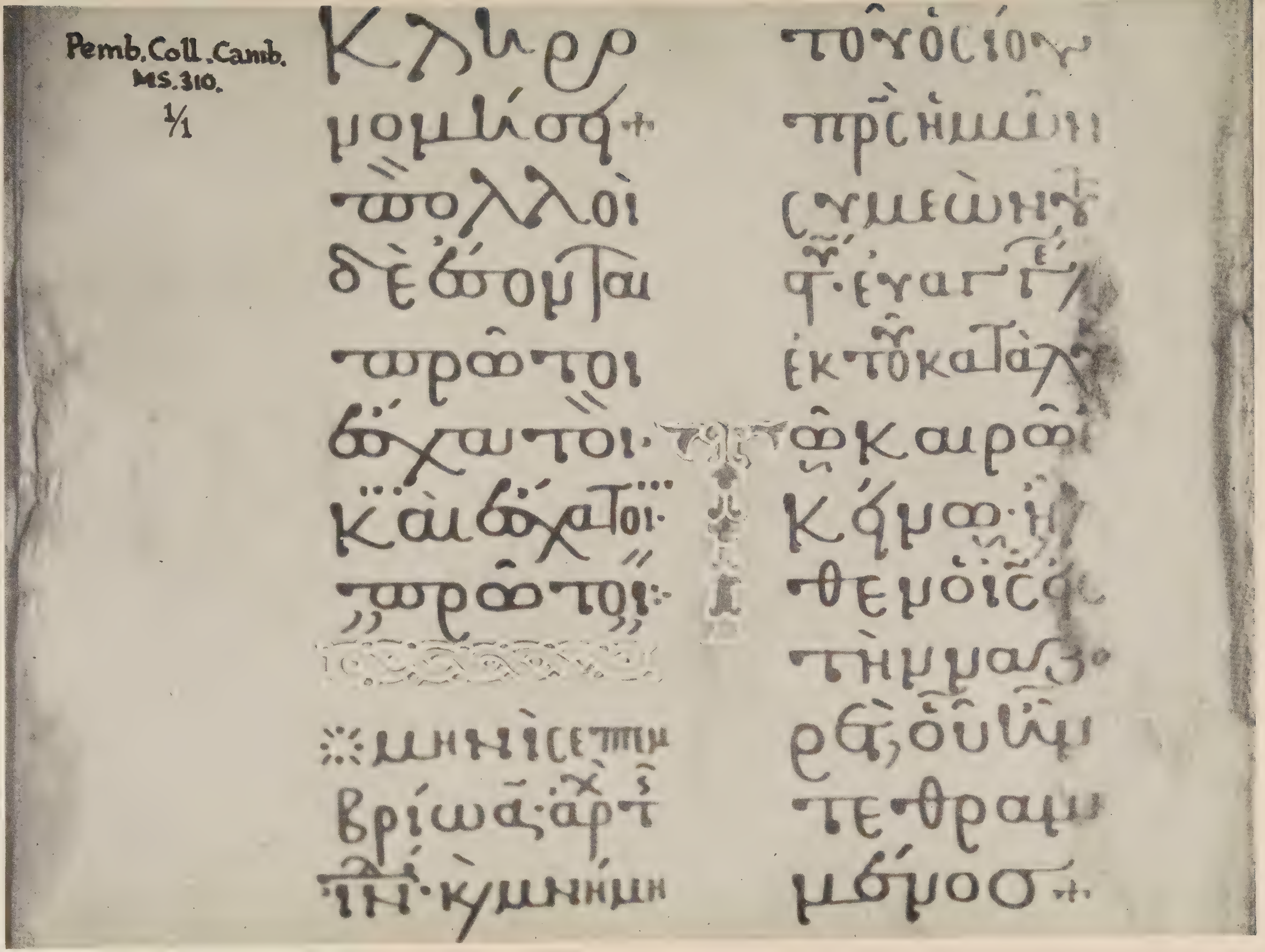
ἴδε; ὅτι προ
φήτης ἐκ τ(ῆς)
γαλιλαίας
οὐκ ἐγή
γερται +
πάλιν οὖν
αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰ(ησοῦ)ς·
ἐλάλησε
λέγων +
ἐγώ εἰμι
τὸ φῶς τοῦ
κόσμου +

ὁ ἀκολου
θῶν ἐμοί.
οὐ μὴ περι
πατήσῃ
ἐν τῇ σκο
τίᾳ· ἀλλ' ἕ
ξει τὸ φῶς
τῆς ζωῆς +
ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ ματθ(αῖον).
Εἶπεν ὁ κ(ύριο)ς,
τοῖς ἑαυ
τοῦ μα

الاحد الاول بعد العنصره

Pemb. Coll. Camb. MS. 310. 3/4

BIG GREEK MINUSCULE, PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE MS. 310.
Above (24): Full page (5/7). *Opposite* (25): Columns, initial and margins (1/1).



Pemb. Coll. Camb.
MS. 310.
1/1

κληρο
νομήσει +
πολλοὶ
δὲ ἔσονται
πρῶτοι
ἔσχατοι·
καὶ ἔσχατοι·
πρῶτοι:·

⁘ μηνὶ σεπτεμ
βρίῳ α· ἀρχ
τῆ· κ μνήμη
τοῦ ὁσίου
πρς ἡμῶν
συμεὼν τοῦ
στ· εὐαγγέλ
ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ λ
τῷ καιρῷ
κάμνῳ· ἦ
θεν ὁ ἰς
τὴν ναζα
ρέτ, οὗ ἦν
τεθραμ
μένος +